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THE

PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE

OF

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. XXXVI. 1912. No. 1

WILLIAM LOGAN'S JOURNAL OF A JOURNEY TO GEORGIA, 1745.

[William Logan, a son of James Logan, of Stenton, and president of the Governor's Council, was born 5 mo. 14, 1718, and died October 28, 1776. After finishing his education, he engaged in mercantile pursuits until the death of his father, when he turned his attention to agriculture. He was a member of the City Council 1743–1776; in 1747, became a member of the Governor's Council, took a deep interest in Indian affairs of the Province; and being a strict Quaker, bore no active part in the early years of the Revolution. He married, March 24, 1740, Hannah, daughter of George Emlen, who survived him three months. The original MS. of his journal of a journey made to Georgia on business matters in 1745, in company with his cousin James Pemberton, is in the "Logan Papers," Historical Society of Pennsylvania.]

1745, *Septembr* 25th *on* 4th *Day of Week.*—Sett Out in Company wh Jemmy Pemberton on a Journey to Georgia accompanyed by many of Our Friends to ye Ferry where they left us, & retd again to Philadia except John Fisher, John Smith & my Brother Jemmy, who went wh us to Chester, where we spent the Evening very agreeably had a good Supper & Lodged Well

26th, Our Friends John Smith & John Fsher & Bro. Jemmy retd from Chester & left us abt 8 o'clock, when we sett out & dined at New Castle, and at ye Request of Henry Newton wrote to my Father On his Behalf to speak to R. P. to speak to ye Govr, after Dinner sett out & Came to St. Georges in ye Evening it being Rainy

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Weather where we lodged Comfortably being very well Entertained by our Land Lord.

27th Sett out after eating Our Breakfast & at Appoquiminy Bridge mett with an Impudent Negro Woman & came down to Dover to dinner at One Phillips's at the sign of ye Kings Arms where we met wh Philip Kearney of Amboy & wrote to my Wife by him; mett with P. Galloway who informed me of Jenny Galloway being brought to Bed of a Daughter, from whose House he was just then come.

After dining on Fryed Pork & drink'g a glass of Wine or two, sett Out & came to Skidmores where we Lodged on a tolerable Good Bed, a very nasty room, supp'd & Breakfasted the next (28th) Morning on Vile Chocolate which did not Agree with me. Came to Dinner to the Widow Stevenson's, a poor illnatured Woman, who killed some fowls & made some Broth at my request as I thought it Would agree with me. We eat heartily of it as well as of the fowls, but every thing was so nasty that One might have picked the Dirt off.

We have had fine roads from beyond Dover, the Country is altogether Flatt very sandy & poorly Watered.

After Dinner sett out again rode through a Forrest abt 15 miles Came abt sunsett to John Worthington's at Indian River wh divides Pennsylvania from Maryland. Here We Were very handsomely Entertained, the Old man keeping Every thing Very neat about him. Lodged on Good Beds, & in the (29th) Morning after, Breakfasting on Tea in very good ordr but very long a getting, We sett out abt 9 o'clock & having rode through a long miserable poor sandy Forrest, abt 18 miles in which we stop'd & baited our Horses on some Indian corn on ye ground which we brought in a bag wh us on purpose as it would have been too far to have rode our horses without baiting. We had in Company with us from Worthington's a Young Man from Lewis Tn one Doctor Woodridge who parted with us abt 3 Miles from the Widw ——, where we dined, havg

ab^{t} $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from her house met w^{h} Joseph Yeates, of Philadelphia, who returned wth us & after eating our Dinner of Cold Pork & Apple Pye, we sett Out again on our Journey in Company with Jos. Yeates.

The land here is something Better but all inclin'g to sand & many Pines growing all along the Road, which still continue the [torn] that I ever saw. We have had no Hay since We left Dover, but Corn Blades wth Oat sheaves on Which our Horses seem to feed very Well.

Came in the Evening to Snow Hill, which lies on Pokomoke River, a Poor Miserable little Town, & lodged at David Morrow's. Were well Entertain'd, considering the Place, There is here a Large new Court House Building. Here we Lodged well had good clean Oats for our Horses & Good Blades.

I forgot to take notice of One thing viz: That through the Counties of Kent & Sussex you see more Mulattos than of any other color. And one thing is also observable in Maryland, that they give Rum to their Children Even at three Years old which they will drink like Water, & I think it a very scandalous practice & told them so.

30th.—Sett out this Morning Again on our Journey after Breakfasting on Chocolate & bated our Horses at one Nehemiah Holland where we also bought some Indian Corn to carry with us in Ord^{r} to bait again in the Woods for there are no publick Houses so that Travellers are obliged to impose on Gentlemen, a practice I cannot yet come into. Bated in the Woods ab^{t} one o'clock & eat some Bisket & Cheese but could get no good Water any where on the Road; the Publick Road running within a Mile & less of the Sea-Side so that the water is Brackish.

There are Trees Marked or Posts sett up with the Distance to any publick Place Every Mile which is Convenient to Travellers as the Road is very lonesome, the People's Houses being Out of sight from the Road. Came about 3 o'clock to Alexand^{r} Stoakleys, a private House, where We dined & bated Our Horses, but paid

her for it, & afterw^{ds} came in the Evening ab^{t} 7 o'clock to Accomack Court House.

Saw on the Road a Handsome new Church called Asscowaumin built with Brick, 75 feet front & ab^{t} 50 Deep.

Have not seen a Wheat Field since I left Dover & very little Tobacco.

Lodged this night at One Bridget Lewis, abt. ¼ of a mile from the Court House & had good Entertain't

The Land still continues the Same, being a thin Sandy soil. They have a miserable small breed of Cattle & worse Horses, & Very few sheep.

8 ^{mth}. I Sett out this Morning after breakfasting on Tea, carryed some Oats with us & ab^{t} 11 o'clock bated our horses in the woods, stoped again about 2 at a man's house, on the Road at one . . . . Smith's, expecting to buy some corn for our Horses, but he being of a Virginia Disposition, would take nothing for them, altho' very poor, & very Drunk, but very generous. Came ab^{t} four o'clock to Northampton, a small Town with ab^{t} 8 or 9 Houses, & a Court House & Prison, where we dined at on peaches having eaten nothing since sun-rise. Were very well Entertained, and came ab^{t} 7 o'clock to. . . . Burton's, who keeps the Ferry at Cherrystones, a private House, where we lodged very comfortably.

October the Second Day. This morning ab^{t} 10 o'clock after Breakfasting on Fryed Oysters & Cold Roast Beef, & afterwards on Coffee, a thing common in this Country, we ship'd Our Horses & self on board a Small Sloop (having a fair wind but rather too much of it), to cross the Bay, but had rough Weather, the sea running high, was very sick but could not vomit, Coz^{n} Jemmy having the Advantage of me in that Point & Came ab^{t} 8 o'clock to the Mouth of Nansemund River.

Here the Wind & Tide failed us so yt We Were obliged to leave Our Horses on board the Sloop, & row in a Boat to Town where we got ab^{t} 9 o'clock to one Cooper's to Nansemund, a small town wth only 3 families in it—N B.

There is at the Mouth of James River a Fort near Hampton Town.

Saw many Vessels at James River, two of which were Men of War of 40 Guns Vizt. the Mermaid, & the Fowey that convoyed the Fleet from England, but the Mermaid came from Cape Breton, spoke with a schooner bound to Antigua.

October the third Day. Arose this morning ab^{t} 7 o'clock & got a Flat to get our Horses ashoar, there being no other conveniency, being obliged to hoist them both in and out with Tackles. Saw a Large ship come up, one Capt. Huey, a Letter of Marque Man, who saluted the Place with 9 Guns. After Breakfasting on Tea & Chocolate & Shaving & shifting, being the first time since we sett out & Writing to my Wife, we sett out again on our Journey intending to go to a meeting ab^{t} 10 miles off, but were disappointed by the false information of one Dr. Melton, a Fr'd, who told us that it began at 12 o'clock, instead of 10; mett Edmond Jordan ab^{t} a half mile short of the Meeting, to whom we delivered 10 of ye printed London Epistles & also the other with Sundry Letters from Friends in Philadelphia, after some small Conversation parted & Came to a pretty Little trading Town of about 60 or 70 Houses, called Suffolk, ab't. half a Mile out of the Road, & 15 from Nansemund, where there was a handsome dinner on the Table at the House of One partly on the Acc^{t} of a great number of people gathered there at the sale of a parcell of choice English Goods by Vandue, belonging to one Theophilious Pugh, a man of the greatest Note in these parts, but now in all appearance intirely broke. There we dined heartily, & had Good English Beer & good Wine, as also English Bread, being the second time we have eat any since we left Pennsylvania.

The vile Practice of giving Children, as well those of all other ages, Rum in a morning as soon as they rise, continues here. I saw a child of ab^{t} 3 years old drink a

common Glass of raw Rum, & the Parents encouraged it reckoning it wholesome.

The Land here is much better than on the Eastern Shore, but inclines still to a sand, & is much intermixed with Oak, Pines, Holly & Spruce, but the straitest & tallest & largest I ever saw.

8 *br* 3^{d}. The Cattle are also here much better & in short everything beside.

Sett out from Suffolk Town after dining & chatting a little with Geo. Gordon, of our F^{n} & Constantine Hughes by whom I sent the Letter I wrote at Nansemund, and also after some short attendance at the Vandue, where Goods were sold 25 pr C^{t} under the first St'g cost, & came ab^{t} 6 o'clock to the Widow Newby's ab^{t} 8 miles from Suffolk, where we were kindly entertained, & lodged well, they having I think 8 or 9 Spare Beds. It is a Friends House on the Boarders of Virginia & North Carolina. The people here are Very kind to Strangers & Travellers.

4th *Day.*—Arose this morning about sunrise & after breakfasting on Chocolate &c. sett out again on our Journey, Stop'd about 14 miles distance & bought some Corn for our Horses at a private House & bated about 10. After riding ab^{t} 10 miles more, turned in at a private house (one Isaac Speights), in ord^{r} to get some Water for our Horses, for we came across none this day, there being very few Runs, & the extraordinary long dry season they have had in these parts, has dried up all their Swamps, so that their Cattle &c, are almost starving. There we got some Water and blades, & the man was so kind as to get us some Beef steaks for Dinner (Breakfast he called it), and after that some Coffee, and after resting about an hour & half sett out again, stope'd ab^{t} 10 miles distance & bought some more Corn for our Horses, but none of them would eat but mine, the Mare beginning to fail & came ab^{t} 7 in the evening to Samuel Newby's, where we were recommended by the Widow we lodged at last night, & were kindly entertained. We came this road which is

15 miles out of our way on purpose to reach the Yearly Meeting for N^{r} Carolina held at Pequimmins.

There seems to be very good Land for Grass but the people have no notion of that part of Farming, their Chief Dependance being on Indian Corn, Hogs, & Tar, but might raise what number of Cattle they pleased; the Woods being over run with Good Grass & what Cattle they do raise, they have little or no trouble with as they turn them in the Woods to shift for themselves. I told them the Advantage y^{t} would attend it by Exportation of Beef, Butter & Cheese, but they seem to Chuse their Old way as being less trouble.

5th *Day.* Came this morning after Breakfast across Pequimmins river, (which is scarce 50 yards wide where we cros'd it, but about a mile further down a full mile wide), in Company with Sam^{ll} Newby to the Meeting House where the Meeting of Ministers were then sitting & delvd the Epistles to Zachariah Nixon who carried them into y^{e} Meeting & the Written Epistle to y^{e} Meeting from London was read & in an hour more the Meeting broke up, when we delv'd sundrie Letters to Stephen Scott, & Daniel Saint. Here we with Betty Pleasant's (R. Jordan's sister) a very agreeable Woman who was Glad to see us, being acquainted with Coz^{sn} Jemmy, immediately went to Meeting in Company with many other Frd^{s}, which was about as large as our First Day Morning Meeting, when 5 men & as many Women were concerned to speak, & Betty Pleasant's in Prayer.

The People here seem to be sober solid & grave, & I think very examplary in their Lifes & Conversation as far as I Could observe & I think I may say we had a very good meeting. After meeting went to Zachariah Nixon's ab^{t} $\frac{1}{4}$ mile from the House were we dined very plentifully, in C^{o}, of ab^{t} 60 or 70 others. Friends here are very open hearted & kind to one another.

Spent the afternoon very agreeably with Z. Nixon, Stephen Scott, & several others but mostly with B.

Pleasants, who was fond of our company, & we of hers. Had in the Evening a large private Meeting at w^ch^ Stephen Scott, Sam^ll^ Newby, & B. Pleasants spoke with great life & under a goodly Zeal & concluded with Prayer by [?] by which was much comforted. One Coll^d^ Scarborough attends Frn^ds^ Meetings here & bears a extraordinary Character amongst Fr^ds^ being very kind to them in mitigating their Fines &c so that they live in this Governm't much easier on that Acc^t^, than in Virginia where Frd^s^ are very much harrassed, & oppressed. Exchanged our Mare with Z. Nixon for a small Horse, believing she could not hold out much further, her Tail being so cut with the Crupper that we could not keep the bags on.

Lodged this Evening very Comfortably but was surprized to find Entertainment for so many Lodgers, being I believe no less than 30 in number.

6^th^ *day.*—Arose this morning ab^t^ 7 o'clock & after breakfasting and spending some time very agreeably with B. P. & others went to meeting ab^t^ 11, which was something larger than the Day before being first Day for there are abundance of other societys come here in common.

We had several Frd^s^ that spoke viz. B. P^sts^ Stepkt. Scott, Sam^ll^ Newby Z. Nixon's Wife & others, & after the meeting was concluded the London Yearly Meeting Epistle was read & was very acceptable.

Went to L. Nixon's to dinner with the above mentioned Frd^s^ & Tho Trotter (B. P^sts^ Brother in Law by her husband's Sister). The chief part of the other Frd^s^ went immediately after meeting to their respective Homes.

Spent the afternoon very agreeably & in the evening took a Walk ab^t^ Zac^h^ Nixon's Plantation, which is much the same sort of Land as the other in this County w^ch^ is called Pequimmins and is much better than that more Northerly, but is all mixed with Pines &c., inclines to sand. I measured one Pine 27 feet 2 inches round, & by what

judgem^{t} I could form ab^{t} 80 feet high, without a limb.

There is also a large q^{ty} of Tobacco grown in this part of the World.

The Common peoples houses here are in generall tarr^{d} all over to preserve y^{m} instead of Painting & all have Wooden Chimneys which I admire do not catch fire oftener than they do. Went to bed ab^{t} 11 o'clock, slept well &

7th. Arose ab^{t} 6 this morning & after Breakfasting took our leave of our Frd^{s}, & sett out on our journey by our Frd^{s} Tho. Trotter & B. Pleas^{ts} ab^{t} a mile or two on the road, where we parted in a very Loving manner but had Z. Nixon's company far as Paquim^{ns} Ferry, who took then his leave of us, having shewn us together with as his Family a particular Respect, and then went in C^{o} with Dr. Burleigh (who I forgot to mention was with us at Z. Nixon's the whole time) as far as Edenton ab^{t} 18 miles distance where we put up at a handsome Tavern had good Wine, & Beer, & every other thing that was necessary, and ab^{t} 4 o'clock in the afternoon with much difficulty got a Ferry Boat to carry our Horses over the Sound, which is full two miles wide, but no tide at all, there being several Rivers that empty themselves into it, & as there are so many Shoals & Sandy Banks near the Cape at y^{e} entrance of this Sound, very few Vessels except those that are small venture in.

As we were so late before we could get a Boat for our Horses, there being no Ferry regularly kept here, & the Boat being small, & the Sound wide, we chose to go over in a large Cannoe that we met with going over, in hopes of getting over before Night, but we were mistaken. altho' we had four Oar's it was ab$_{t}$ Eight o'clock when we got a shoar, & that wth some difficulty, but our Horses did not arrive till two in the morning. We had miserable lodging here & as cross an ill natured a Landlady as one would desire; I had little or no Sleep being up in the night to see our Horses taken care off.

8th. Sett Out this morning in ordr for Bath Town, but could not reach it on acct. of the weather, it being very hott & showery and was obliged to putt up 18 miles short of it at one Chilly's, a very mean House, where we got some chickens broiled in a very nasty manner for our Dinner, which was abt 4 o'clock, but could get nothing but Blades for our Horses. Here we lodged, it being sett in for Rain & no other House within 14 miles, but by far the worse we have met with; there being a stinking ordinary Bed, an Earthen Floor & many air holes. I slept very poorly.

9*th*.—Arose this morning by break of day & got to Abraham Dinean's to breakfast, who lives genteely, & has a handsome large brick house two story high, a great rarity in this Wilderness.

We had a drizzley morning & the poorest desolate place we have hitherto seen, being a large plain with a few Pines on it.

Came to Bath Town abt 2 miles further to Edward Houcott's, a very good publick House, where the Ferry is kept, & here we dined, the Boat being on the other side. This Town lies on the River Pamlico, & pleasantly situated & contains abt 30 houses, tho' but very mean.

We were obliged to stay here all day on acct of the Rain & Sultry Heat, but sent our Horses over in the evening, it being so late & dark that we did not chuse to go ourselves, & they had no provinder for our Horses. We slept here on a tolerable good bed, & things in pretty good ordr.

10th.—Awoke this morning abt 6 o'clock in ordr to proceed for Newbourne abt 32 miles distance, but were detained till 8 o'clock by waiting for a woman's horse that was to go over the ferry with us, which is 3 miles over. Got on the other side by half past ten, when we mounted in Co with said woman, who said she came from Boston, but was a forward bold Hussey; stop'd at one Fishers, after riding about 20 miles, to get our Dinners & bate our Horses, but were vilely entertained, having nothing but Potato Bread mixed with Indian Corn &

rank Irish Butter, & as unmannerly cross a Land Lady as ever I met with.

Ab^{t} two miles short of this, we fell in company with an impudent fellow who called himself a Gentleman, but was very abusive with his Tongue, having been drinking too freely, who kept us company till we came to News River, which was about dusk, & as the Boat was too small to carry us all and the Ferry two miles over we chose to send this man & woman who seemed fond of each others company, & waited till the return of the Boat, which was not till ab^{t} 7 o'clock, & it being very dark & the Boat full loaded, we got a man to take us over in a small Craft, & got on the other side ¼ past 8, when we sett out for Newbourne ab^{t} 2 short miles further, & got there before nine.

Put up at one Johnston's, a very good house, had good lodging tho' but mean provinder for our Horses. This town is scituated on the River Trent & has ab^{t} as many houses in it as Bath.

11th. Arose this morning ab^{t} 7 o'clock & after getting all things in readiness, & breakfasting on Tea, & Wheat Bread (which is a great Rarity here) mounted our horses & got to one Whitliff's, who keeps the Ferry at Trent River ab^{t}. 16 miles from Newbourne. Here we staid & refreshed ourselves & horses very agreeably, had a good Dinner, & good Oats, & very kind people.

Mounted again ab^{t}. 2 o'clock to reach one Dudley's ab^{t} 3 miles over Whittach Bridge 11 miles in all the weather being so very hott that we durst not travel harder, both on Acc^{t} of ourselves & horses, & got there about 5, having mett at Whittacks Bridge with . . . . . Rutherford coming from Cape Fear. He returned with us to Dudley's ab^{t} 3 miles distance & then we lodged very comfortably, having good Beds & Provinder for our Horses.

Wrote by said Rutherford to my Wife to acquaint her we were well, & that we had got so far on our Journey, & enclosed Betty Pleasant's letter to Mr. Jordan, & spent the evening very agreeably.

12th. Arose this morning by break of day & breakfasted on Tea & Hoe Cake Bread, which we have done in common & afterds bought a small Horse for £50 this Currency, which is about £8. Philadia. My horses back being much galled by the violent Heat, which is I think full as Hott as our Summer, we put all our Baggage on him to ease the Mare which tho' mentioned before to have been exchanged, was not, by the other Horse running away the same night. We agreed with Z. Nixon at Pequimmins. Sett out after breakfast from Dudley's having taken our leave of Rutherford & came to Ishmael Taylor's to dine only fifteen miles distance, the Hott Weather continuing. Here we dined on Broiled Fowls & got good oats for our Horses, & after havg refreshed ourselves abt two hours, we mounted again in ordr for New River Ferry, were we got in good time, but the most ordinary Bawble of a Boat that I ever saw, as she did not float above two or three inches above the surface of the Water, but the Ferry being not wider than our River Schulkyl, we arrived safe to Everett's, a tolerable good house, for lodging tho' but indifferent otherwise, for we had the worst Wheat Bread I ever saw, being made of nothing but what we call Shorts, but had the good Luck to meet with a Canoe of fine Fish, just caught, & had Drumb boiled for Supper very well & afterwards like Gentlemen refreshed ourselves with a Glass or two of good Maderia Wine, but it must be remembered we brought it with us from Philadelphia, for we have seen none since we left home, but at Suffolk in Virginia.

This River empties it self into the sea abt. 5 miles from the Ferry, & is well stored with Fish which they live on Very much.

13th.—Arose before day in order to sett out for Willmington 45 miles distance & after breakfasting on a cold broiled Fowl, wch we had dressed the night before on purpose, & mounted exactly at six o'clock, & came to one England's about 15 miles distance, without seeing any other house, but could get nothing for ourselves or

Horses except a few Blades. Mounted again & in 15 miles further distance came to —— Stoakley's, where we stoped to Bait, could get nothing for our horses here neither, but Blades. Had a couple of Chickens boiled for Dinner but the Woman, tho' she told us we might have anything for dinner we pleased, had nothing in the house, not even Bread of any kind, nor had had, as she said, for several days, living entirely on Potatoes; such is y^e^ fare of the Common people in these parts.

Mounted again half past three & came in an hour within night to Willmington, a new little Town settled on the North East Branch of Cape Fear River, & about 15 miles above Brunswick, (the old Town settled on Cape Fear). This Town is likely to thrive, but scituated on a very uneven Sandy spott.

Here we mett with the best entertainment that we have done since we left Pennsilvania, both for ourselves & Horses, they having good Hay & Oats; one Sampson keeping it, & that in a genteel manner.

The Land, quite from Edenton Sound is in general very poor, flatt, sandy, & barren, & nothing but Pines growing on it, excepting it be near some Branch of a River where there are some Oaks, but within sixty or seventy miles of this place is intirely a bed of Sand & worse than any I ever saw in the Jerseys; but they say that at the Head of their Rivers they have very good Land, & raise a great quantity of Wheat, considering how thin their settlements are, but the Road we came lies all the way within a few miles of y^e^ Sea.

October the Fourteenth Day.—Arose early this morning & after Breakfast^g^ in C° with several Gentlemen of the Town & after delivering sundry letters to several persons here of whom Clark was one, who was exceeding kind to us in writing to a Gent at Lockwood's Folly on our behalf, & giving us written directions about our Road, we sett out for the Upper Ferry in order to cross the Branches of the River, the Wind being too high to cross it below, but after we had got there, & had called above

half an hour for the Boat to come over, but in vain, we returned again to Willmington & after dinner sett out for the Lower Ferry in hopes the Wind would fall & we might get over in the evening to Brunswick, but we were disappointed, for instead of falling it increased much, & by night blew almost a Hurricane at So. West, & after raining hard, then shifted immediately to N. West, & blew full as hard all night & cleared up. One Jno. Malsby keeps this Ferry; he lived formerly at the Middle Ferry on Skuylkill, but left it & came to this Wilderness Country in hope of getting an Estate, by the purchase of Lands, but is much mistaken or I am. We were kindly entertained here but as the House is new, & no glass to be had for their Windows, & many air holes & the Wind very high at N. West, I slept miserably, the air coming on me almost from head to foot, but thro' Mercy got no Cold, tho' I was very apprehensive of it.

Fifteenth Day.—Here we were detained by the Wind continuing to blow so hard that we could not cross the Ferry, which is full three miles wide, till two o'clock, so that we staid here to dine, which we did on a piece of Boiled Beef & a good Roast Turkey, got on our Aud^{h} and after dinner went over to Brunswick (or Old Town) mentioned before, and put at Blenheim's. Here we mett with a Snow bound for London with Pitch & Tar and wrote to Elias Bland & John Hunt by her & afterwards went to sup with Jno. Wright, who had before invited us to drink Tea & afterwards to this Supper, which was very handsome for their circumstances, which I imagine are but low.

He was also so kind as to get a fowl roasted for us to take with us to eat on the road as he said we should meet with no publick House, which we accepted of.

8th, Sixteenth Day. Arose this morning by break of day having lodged but indifferently & after breakfasting on Tea Sett out for Lockwood's Folly abt. ¼ before seven and after having passed that & rode about two miles further, in all abt. 25 miles, stoped to Bait our Horses with some Oats we brought with us from Wilmington,

which we did under a Shady Tree & dined on our Cold Fowl & Biskett, & after drinking a glass or two of Wine, which we had in our bags. Sett out for Savaneau's abt. 25 miles further where we got abt. six o'clock & refreshed ourselves with a tolerable good supper on Cold Salt Beef with Butter & Cheshire Cheese, and went to bed which was on ye Floor, but clean & a close room.

Seventeenth Day. Arose this morning abt. 7 o'clock after a very good nights rest & see our Horses fed with the remainder of the Oats we brought with us, & just as we were sitting down to breakfast a Gentleman (one James Wright of George Town) came in, who breakfasted with us & had some agreeable conversation. He lodged abt. a mile further back at John Jour's, but as he mett us on the road in the evening before & enquired of our Servant who we were, returned to breakfast with us. After which we mounted, having got the man's Negro for our Guide to the next house, which is on the Long Bay & we were fearful of the Quicksands which lye on the Bay. This House of Savanneau's is about 4 miles to the Southward of the Boundary Line between North & South Carolina, which we have now passed. I would just observe that all that part of North Carolina that we came through is a poor flat Sandy soil & scarce any thing grows on it but Pines & a long course Grass in many places, on which their Cattle feed, but one meets now & then with what they call Savannah's, very little better than the rest, only that it bears much more Grass & is better Range.

The People, especially those that live most Southerly are very indolent & lazy & keep Negroes to do their work, which they half starve, allowing y^{m} no more in general than a half peck of Indian Corn a week & a pint of Salt, & no Cloaths but a Breech Clout.

The Cattle they raise they have no manner of trouble with for so soon as a Cow calves she is turned into the woods to shift for herself & Calf, which they brand & mark & keep no Dairy's nor milk their Cows but when by chance they come home. Their produce is Pitch, Tar,

Turpentine & Deer skins, with Hides, & depend on merchants stores for Cloathing as they raise nothing of the kind but a Cotton not much unlike the West India, which grows natural & with little care. Of this some few spin for shirting Linnin & Stockings, but I must say thus much of the People, that they seem very kind to Strangers.

After riding about 4 miles distance we came to the Long Bay which lies on the Sea Side, so that we ride by the Water's Edge on the Sand for 4 miles & then leave it for 4 miles more, between which space one Linnes lives & keeps a publick House, & here we staid to dinner. The Tide being up so high that we could not cross y^e^ Swash, about half-past two entred on y^e^ Long Bay again, the Tide going down and rode abt. 17 miles upon a firm hard Sand abt. 100 yards wide from the Sea to the Bank and came to very mean house abt. Sunsett, where one Balloon lives; had some ordinary half dryed Venison for supper, no Bread, and an ordinary Bed.

18*th.*—Mounted our Horses this morning abt. Sun Rise after breakfasting on some of the same steaks which did by no means agree with my stomach, and after riding abt. 18 miles came to Pooles, a house we had been recommended to by several, but tho' I Let his wife in the plainest terms I well could without begging that we should want entertainment, there being no publick House on the Road, yet she had neither the good nature nor manners to ask us to come in or eat, but directed us the road to the Ferry abt. 16 miles further, and by her direction we missed our road abt. 7 or 8 miles & got no kind of victuals for ourselves or our Horses, till abt. 5 o'clock, when we came to the Ferry on Wachamaw River, which one Webb keeps. Here we were obliged to leave our Horses all night, the Wind being so high and the Ferry Boat on the other side & went over to George Town, ourselves in a Cannoe. This Ferry is abt. 3 miles over.

We put up at Tho' Blythe's in George Town, a very nice house, had good entertainment & good Lodgings.

(To be continued.)

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF DEDICATION AND PREFACE OF PETER KALM'S TRAVELS.

BY ADAM J. STROHM,
Trenton, N. J.

The editor of a recent Finnish-Swedish reprint of Peter Kalm's TRAVELS[1] remarks: "At the close of the 19th century an awakening interest in the past is taking place and especially so the interest in the earlier history of America.

"PETER KALM'S TRAVELS are receiving renewed attention from the point of view of historical import both in America and Europe. The reliability and comprehensiveness of the observations noted by Kalm in his TRAVELS constitute the staying qualities and enduring value of this work."

For the benefit of those who have enjoyed only the English version of this work, the dedication and preface of the first Swedish edition have been translated by the writer, as no English translation of this part has heretofore appeared, so far as known.

DEDICATION.

(To Queen Louisa Ulrika of Sweden).

MOST GRACIOUS AND MIGHTY QUEEN:

We will find that a sovereign, solicitious of the welfare of his subjects, is always to be identified with his country's growth in prosperity, resources and power, the support and encouragement of useful sciences.

A nation where any of these is wanting, where ignorance and indifference to useful pursuits and sciences prevail, must necessarily progress with difficulty.

[1]A |Journey| to| North America |By| The Direction of the Royal| Swedish Academy of Sciences| and| performed at public expense| by| PEHR KALM| Professor Economics in Abo| and Member of the Royal Swedish| Academy of Sciences.| VOL. I|. With the sanction of His Majesty the King. Stockholm.| Printed by Lars Salvius, 1753.|

On the contrary, fortunate indeed is the nation where the watchful care of the Ruler, the comfort of the inhabitants and the advancement of science have brought about a union of brotherhood and kindliness.

Happy, indeed, is Sweden, whose people now behold in their beloved and gracious Ruler, these noble attributes of high Royalty, which other nations either desire or, in words of flattery only, may claim for their rulers.

Most gracious Queen! Your subjects acknowledge with gratitude and blessings the devoted endeavours of your Royal Majesty to promote all useful parts of the national husbandry, to raise it to a level of universal thrift, comfort and prosperity in order that we may equal if not surpass, the most industrious and prudent of our Southern European neighbours.

Your Royal Majesty has already at this date conferred upon the sciences a generous measure of encouragement, protection and development; their future advance is beyond computation inasmuch as Your Majesty is pleased to devote your own spare hours to the application of this useful knowledge, and in the most important of them evince such insight that even he, who has devoted *all* his time to their study, finds himself a mere beginner and apprentice.

In accordance with the pleasure and gracious directions of Your Majesty, expeditions have been undertaken to remote countries in order to explore the secrets of nature and to collect various indigenous products. The manifold produce of nature from all parts of the earth has, in a sense, prayed to be granted the favor to be laid before the notice of Your Majesty.

It is due to the gracious protection and generosity of Your Royal Highness that the learned world looks forward to a description and treatise of the soil, properties and minerals, plants, animals and other curious offerings by Nature, as recounted in the Holy Writ and to be found in historical places of sacred fame, the history of which

countries, even as regards their inhabitants, has been shrouded in utter darkness.

I supplicate the privilege of laying humbly before the feet of Your Majesty a full account of the journey undertaken by me to the northern part of America, the first part of which report herewith makes its appearance.

Your Majesty has not only with gracious approval agreed upon the benefits of such a journey but also, on my return, conferred upon me many manifestations of your Royal favor, especially by causing the many specimens brought home by me from foreign parts, to be placed with Your Majesty's remarkable Natural History Collection, which in costliness as well as in variety and rarity of specimens is scarcely to be equalled by that of any other potentate or in any other part of the world.

May the Almighty Providence grant Your Majesty a long and happy reign and fulfill the aspirations of Your Majesty, thus granting to Sweden the utmost happiness and prosperity.

Mighty and Most Gracious Queen, I remain unto my dying hour, Your Majesty's Most humble and faithful servant and subject,

PEHR KALM.

PREFACE.

Herewith is given to the kind reader the first part of my account of the journey undertaken by me by the direction of the Royal Academy of Sciences and at the public expense.

In order that the gentle reader may not be unadvised of the purpose of this journey, its inception and the individuals or bodies who especially contributed toward the success of the undertaking, I will submit this brief statement.

After having passed some time at the Upsala University, through the generosity of the Vice President and Knight of the Northern Star, the Right Honorable Baron Carl Bjelke, where I enjoyed the direction and instruc-

tion of Archiater Linnaeus, Knight of the Northern Star, it was proposed by the Vice President, as formally recommended by the Archiater, that for the promotion of the public interest and welfare, I should be permitted to undertake a journey either to Iceland, Siberia or some other part of the world located in the same latitude as Sweden, there to carry on various investigations and to collect plants, especially the seeds of such as may be used as human food, fodder for cattle, or for the improvement of our barren lands, marshes and arid hills or be made useful in dye works or in manufactures, husbandry or medicine, with a view of having these plants domesticated and grown here to our profit and advantage.

The Archiater, the Right Honorable Linnaeus, was of the opinion that North America, of all places, offered the most promising field, no botanical scholar having with any degree of diligence examined and described its native plants, while among the few specimens received, several had been found sufficiently hardy to survive our winters, and a goodly number were valuable in the fields of medicine and economics.

In 1754 Capitain Mechanicus Triewald expressed his opinion, as published in the Transactions of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, of the need and practicability of Sweden producing its own raw silk. After relating his many experiments and difficulties, and the scanty encouragement of his efforts, he concludes as follows: "For the reasons given I have been greatly inclined to bury in eternal darkness and oblivion all the knowledge regarding the cultivation of raw silk that I have acquired during ten years of experiment. But the distinguished member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, the noted Botanist, Professor Linnaeus has, through his investigations, discovered a species of mulberry which will undoubtedly endure our severe winters and even more inclement springs, and not suffer more than our firs, pines and birches. This species of mulberry may easily be

obtained, as will be explained by Doctor Linnaeus as soon as I have disclosed, at least in part, the results of my experiments in the cultivation of mulberry trees."

These expressions served Archiater Linnaeus as an added incitement to urge a journey to America.

His excellency, Count C. G. Tessin, member of the Royal Cabinet, President of the Kings' High Council, High Marshall of the King, Tutor of His Royal Highness, Prince Gustaf, Chancellor of the Abo University, and Knight Commander of the Order of His Majesty, Knight of the Black Eagle, accepted the Presidency of the Royal Academy of Sciences in October of the above-mentioned year, at which time the Vice President, the Right Honorable Count Bjelke submitted to the Academy his own opinion as well as that of Archiater Linnaeus, of the need and value of such a journey to North America, and at the same time recommended me for the performance of same.

This recommendation was graciously received and met with the unanimous approval of the members of the Royal Academy. The question then arose how this journey could be accomplished without trenching on public funds which were sorely needed for other purposes.

The Royal Academy therefore decided to direct their Excellencies, the Chancellors of the Universities within the Kingdom, to request in such manner as their own respective judgment might approve, that each Academy, according to its individual means, allot a reasonable portion from its stipend funds toward the object in view. This plan was pursued and written messages were immediately dispatched by their Excellencies the Chancellors.

The Abo University, which because of meagerness of resources and revenue as compared with its sister institutions, has but little to spare, had no sooner received the gracious communication from its Chancellor than it offered its available mite of money secured through the efforts of Professor Theologicus, now the Bishop and vice Chancellor, Doct. Joh. Brovallius; the amount col-

lected was subsequently transmitted to His Excellency the Chancellor, who forthwith forwarded it to the Royal Academy of Sciences.

The Abo University thus won the honor of being the first to contribute to the need in question. The Lund University had no funds available for contribution for such a journey. The Upsala University, while it was the last to come forward with assistance, gave so generously that her share of the burden must be considered among the heaviest. Early in 1746 the Royal Academy of Sciences authorized its President, Archiater Rosen to file a petition, on behalf of the Society, with His Excellency, President of the General Land office, Count Piper, soliciting his gracious approval of devoting toward the journey one of the Piper stipends established at Upsala University. His Excellency gave the Royal Academy the assurance that, if no other recourse presented itself, one of the stipends referred to would gladly be placed at their service as soon as vacant.

Further, the Royal Academy of Sciences submitted to the University Senate of Upsala whether it would generously consent to assign one of the Magnat stipends to the purpose stated. Chief Marshall, Baron Harleman, deeply yet inadequately cherished for his life-long devotion to the advancement of his country, undertook while serving as President of the Royal Society, to push the matter forward. During a visit to Upsala as escort to their Majesties, the Count called upon the Academic Council and urged favorable consideration. Inasmuch as the Helmfeld stipend was at the time not appropriated, it was proposed that the same be assigned to the purpose urged by the petitioners. The Council promised to contribute all within its power, and did so in the autumn of the above-mentioned year, when its consent was formally given at the urgent solicitation of Archiater Linnaeus. The opinion and approval of the Worthy Magistracy in Stockholm also being required in the premises, this Hon-

orable body was duly informed of the decision of the Academic Council.

True to its wonted benign concern for useful sciences and the country's prosperity the august and noble Magistracy gave its prompt and unanimous approval to the petition. Thus it was brought about that the Helmfeld stipend was assigned toward the journey under consideration.

Inasmuch as the Royal Academy of Sciences had by the above act become the recipient of one of the Academic Magnat stipends, his Excellency, Count Piper found himself constrained to withhold his consent to devote one of the Piper stipends to the journey in view, partly because it seemed contrary to the will of the testator that any one individual should enjoy two Magnat stipends from one and the same Academy and in part to avoid setting a dangerous precedent.

In 1747 our most gracious King, as High Chancellor of Upsala University, was pleased to direct a communication to the University Senate submitting whether or not 1000 platar (gold) might be paid from the Treasury of the Academy toward this journey. The worthy Professors in Upsala complied at once with this high and gracious request, and remitted the amount of 6000 dalers (silver) to the Royal Academy of Sciences.

The Bureau of Manufactures subsequently was pleased to donate to the Royal Academy of Sciences 1800 dalers (copper) for the promotion of the journey.

Personally, I have outside of my salary and private means, expended over 5000 silver dalers in the interest of this journey and for the good of my country; therefore my savings at the end of the journey available for my homemaking, may easily be computed. The further shortage that appeared was met by the Royal Academy of Sciences from its own resources. I had, also, to deal with the difficulty that at the very beginning of my journey the English bank rates were higher than ever before or later, so far as known to me.

The distinguished member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, Squire Joh. Classon, at the request of the Academy, equipped me with an open letter of credit on his Commissioner in London to provide me with all necessary money and everything else required during the entire journey; and the same gentleman has also conferred on me and the Academy various other favors in connection with this journey. In the autumn of 1747, upon the respectful recommendation of His Excellency Count Tessin, as Chancellor of Abo University, His Royal Majesty granted me leave of absence with permission to travel abroad in the interest of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, and in addition His Majesty not only gave me credentials under his own illustrious name but also graciously caused instructions to be given to all his Ministers at the Royal Courts of France, Spain, and England as well as at the States-General in Holland, to procure for me credentials from those countries. Thus prepared I began my journey from Upsala to Gothenburg on the 16th of October (according to the new reckoning which is always understood in this preface). I had chosen as companion Horticulturist Lars Jungström, who is thoroughly familiar with gardening, care of plants, sloyd, skilled in the tasks of a mechanic, of great endurance and in every respect faithful. Contrary winds delayed us in Gothenburg until the 11th of December, when we embarked at sea, but, driven by a terrific storm, we were compelled to seek shelter in Norway. Here we remained until the 8th of February, 1748, when we set sail for England and arrived in London on the 17th of said month.

There being no vessel chartered to sail from England to America we were forced to remain in England until the 5th of August when we embarked in Gravesend and lost sight of the shores of England on the 11th of same month. We sighted America on the 13th of September following, after having, during the night previous, struck on a shoal, from which through the help of the Almighty we

were soon delivered without damage, and we arrived happily, on the 15th of September, in Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, or as it was formerly called, the New Sweden.

The remainder of the year was devoted partly to collecting the seeds of various plants, which were sent to Sweden, and partly to various journeys throughout the surrounding country. In the following year, 1749, I travelled through a large part of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York, from there up the river Hudson to Albany, further over the lakes St. Sacrament and Champlain, all of the European settlements in Canada and returned to New Sweden shortly before Christmas. All the seeds collected during this summer were shipped the same winter to Sweden.

In 1750 I explored the western part of Pennsylvania, a considerable stretch of country along the coast line of New Jersey; and subsequently I left Jungström behind me in Pennsylvania during the summer to collect the seeds of various herbs, while I alone travelled over New York. I journeyed over the Blue Mountains to Albany, up the Mohawk river and further through the land of the warlike and cruel Iroquois tribes, viz: the Mohawk, Oneida, Tuscarora, Onondaga and Cayuga. Later I passed across the great lake or inland sea Ontario to the marvellous Falls of Niagara, which, I must concede, are to be rated as among the greatest wonders of nature.

From there I journeyed back in the autumn over another part of the Blue Mountains and returned finally in October to Philadelphia. On the 13th of February, 1751, we departed from Philadelphia. On the 16th we embarked at New Castle for Europe.

On the 18th of the same month I beheld for the last time America and I confess that I felt the deepest regret at this too sudden parting. There remained still a vast number of things in all the three realms of nature that I had been unable to examine and describe, and must

leave to other investigators. After a trying passage, filled with storm and fear of our lives, the coast of England was sighted on the 23rd of March. On the 27th of the same month our ship ran aground near the mouth of the river Thames with such vehemence that we were forced to take refuge on the nearest land, unable, with the two pumps at hand to free the leaking vessel of as much water as was entering through the broken bottom. I travelled by land to London which I reached on the 29th of March and where I experienced the joy of seeing our ship, with all things safe on board arrive a few days later after having made necessary repairs. We departed from London on the 5th of May, arrived in Gothenburg on the 16th of the same month and reached Stockholm on the 3rd of June.

Of the notes taken by me during this journey the first part now makes its appearance, containing also various observations made while in Norway and England.

Considerable matter was omitted by me in describing English Husbandry, lest the work be made too lengthy; but I hope, if God please, to have it appear in Academic publications. When writing of England, I have occasionally made use of English words. I do not think that therein I have laid myself open to criticism any more than those who make use of French words. These foreign words are almost all explained by me in various places throughout the text.

Many worthy people who read books for amusement rather than profit will soon weary to find so often in this narrative of my journey, the words, ACRE, MEADOW and various terms pertaining to husbandry, but rarely appearing in heretofore published travels, with the exception of those by the Honourable Archiater Linnaeus and others who have followed his method. The purposes of this journey however, fully warrant so doing, and my main efforts were to collect such material. I wish that we had correct, economic reports not only of our country

as a whole, but of its every province, county and parish, thus having at our disposal excellent information and guidance in improving our husbandry.

We might then select the best from the material at hand and abandon those of our methods which were found less profitable than those practised by others. It would prompt us to much further advance and our husbandry would soon be in a sounder and more prosperous state. However, in order to please those who have no liking for economic descriptions, I have at the beginning of each paragraph briefly indicated, in heavily leaded type, the contents of the paragraph, by which method, anyone, lacking taste for a certain science, may pass over the parts that may prove of less interest. In the English countries I have used the English mile, in the French countries the miles of the French; six English and two French miles *about* equal our Swedish mile. I say *about* as it falls short if computed with mathematical accuracy.

In North America there are, as yet, no officially measured miles, distances are largely estimated, with the result that sometimes one mile will be found to measure twice the length of another.

The standard measure used by me during these travels has been the Swedish foot and yard. When I have used the geometrical inch, I have always added the word geom. In every case where this abbreviation does not appear the regulation inch applies.

I have daily noted the climate during the whole of my journey. In preparing my manuscript for printing, this information, in so far as concerns Sweden, Norway and England, was omitted as hardly necessary, but from my departure from England and thenceforward, it will be found recorded, as it is a very important matter to know, for general reasons, as well as for the proper care of American plants.

The thermometer, which has served me during my

whole journey is that of the late Professor And. Celsius, an instrument of utmost reliability and generally accepted throughout Sweden. I am still using the thermometers I carried with me during my travels.

When a NUMBER is quoted in describing a plant, without specifying any one book, it must be understood as always referring to Archiater Linneaus FLORA SVECICA.

When information has come to me, that I have not had opportunity to verify, I have generally named the authority, partly in order to record my gratitude to my informant and not to give out as my own what is due to others, and partly to place the responsibility of the statement with its author in case it should not prove in accordance with facts. Furthermore, in describing what I have not beheld myself but have accepted from the information of others, I have generally used the words, IT IS REPORTED or IT IS SAID, but in every instance, falling within my own observation or confirmed by the unanimous opinion of all, I have made my statement as of an established fact.

I have purposely omitted technical descriptions of plants, animals and minerals. Most readers weary of them and it would increase the size as well as the cost of the book. I have always stated the utilitarian value of plants, animals and minerals whenever known; I plan, if God pleases, to furnish later their full description in a Latin work. The style of my writing is anything but graceful. It is as recorded daily during my travels, often with a tired hand. To apply one's attention daily to all that comes within one's observation and to record it without delay is fully as exhausting as most other labor. After having suffered repeated inconveniences and annoyances during a day's journey, a traveller is often compelled, when others are snugly in bed, to sit up to copy notes and in legible hand record what has been entrusted to memory during the day.

I cannot hope to be more fortunate than others in escaping uncharitable critics. They must have something on which to exercise their wit. No writer's rash has placed the pen in my hand; I was prompted by my devotion to our common welfare and my obligation to obey the instructions of the Royal Academy of Sciences. No one can say that I have sought or am seeking profit or emolument. If my journey will in any way promote public interest, I am amply rewarded and compensated for any inconvenience and expense I may have suffered. Only future experiments and skill can justly determine if my country will derive benefit from the seeds I brought from America. I have done all within my power. I have had the disadvantage of being located at the most northerly Swedish University, where the climate is more severe and the winter's cold is vastly more bitter than in Upsala, Stockholm and Lund. In Upsala and Lund there are Botanical Gardens and attendants. Here in Abo both are wanting. From the experiments carried on by me on my own little HORTULA, I found that American mulberry plants of the height of barely two inches endured the cold in a room where the thermometer registered 20 degrees below freezing point; our native plants of equally tender age would scarcely endure more. Walnut trees, grapes, plum trees and others, although as yet most tender, have also endured our winters. Let us await the verdict of the future. But watchfulness and unceasing care will be required. If we ever will be fortunate enough to have here in Abo an Academic Garden, very much more may be accomplished.

The subsequent parts of my journey will, if God please, soon appear in due order. Gentle reader, I beg you in the meanwhile to interpret this with charity and forbearance.

Abo the 13th of July, 1753.

ORDERLY BOOK OF THE SECOND PENNSYLVANIA CONTINENTAL LINE COL. HENRY BICKER.

At Valley Forge, March 29,—May 27, 1778.

EDITED BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

(Continued from Vol. xxxv., p. 496.)

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE, April 16th, 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . . Varnom
Field Officers . . Col. Bicker, Lt. Col. Sherman[102]
Brigade Major . . . . . Malvin
Inspector from Gen[l] Scott's Brigade.

The Commander-in-Chief directs, that only one Sutler be allowed to each Brigade, who shall have a Sutileing Booth, within the limits of the Brigade and shall sell Liquors to no others but the Brigade he belongs to; he shall sell his Liquors at the following prices, to the Officers and men of the Brigade to which he belongs and on no pretence to any other, under penalty of having his whole stock seized, and rendered incapible of ever serving as a Sutler in the Army:—Gin: Whiskey: Peach Brandy: Apple Brandy: Cordials of all kinds: and any other homemade spirrits at 15 per Gallon, pr Quart 4; pr pint 2 pr half pint 1: 3[d] West India full proof 15 pr Quart a bowl of Toddy containing half a pint of Spirits 7. 6[d] And no persons besides such assigned Sutlers or Commissarys sent by particular States shall sell any kind of Liquors in Camp or within 7 miles of Camp under penalty of having their whole stock seized.

Except that the Quatermaster Gen[l] is authorised to allow one or more houses of entertainment to accomodate strangers or travilers, which must necessarily be in the vicinity of the Camp, the persons receiving their licence

[102] *Isaac Sherman*, Lieut. Col. 2 Conn. Jany 1777; Lieut. Col. Commandant 8 Conn. Oct. 1779; transferred to 5 Conn. Jany 1781; retired Jany 1, 1783. Died Feb. 16, 1819.

for that purpose giving sufficient security, not to vend their liquors to any persons: to the Army; the Brigadier's and Officers commanding Brigades are to report the name of the Sutlers belonging to the respective Brigades, to the Adj. Genl. and where any change happens they are to report it accordingly.

A ration for the future to consist of bread, one pound, one pound of beef or fish or ¾ lb of pork, one gill of Whisky, or spirits, or a pound & ½ of flower or bread, ½ a pound of pork or bacon, ½ a pint of peas or beans, ½ a pint of Whiskey or spirits; the Commissaries are directed to issue rations to the Army from time to time agreeable to either of the foregoing estimates, according to the state of the stores in Camp.

William McMeath under sentence of Death is reprieved till further Orders.

At a Gen[l] Court Martial whereof Col. Vose was president April ye 8[th] 1778, Jn° Conner of the 9[th] Penns[a] Reg[t] tryed first for desertion to the enemy; 2[d] for taking the Oath of Alegance to the king of Great Britain, acquitted of the first charge, but found guilty of the 2[d]; being a breach of the 5[th] Article of 8[th] Sec[t] of the Articles of War & as he did not return to his Reg[t] after leaving Phila[da], is an addition to his crime, they sentence him to receive 50 lashes and rejoin his Reg[t]. At the same Court L[t] Orr[103] of the 10[th] Penns[a] Reg[t] tryed for ungentleman-like behaviour and conniving with Serg[t] Hughs in secreting stolen goods & countenancing him in carrying off a Mulata slave belonging to Major Shaw, found guilty of the first charge exhibited against him, being a breach of the 21[st] Article 14[th] Sec[t] of the Articles of War and sentenced to be discharged the service; the Comm[dr]-in-Chief approves the sentence and orders it to take place immediately.— At the same Court James Gorden, a soldier belonging to the 2[d] Virginia Reg[t] tryed for desertion and 2[d]ly for forgeing a discharge; 3[d] for re-enlisting in the 12[th] Penns[a] Reg[t] found guilty of the several charges exhibited against

[103] *William Orr,* Dec. 4, 1776, Ensign; 2d Lieut. Oct. 17, 1777.

him, being breaches of the 1st and 3d Articles 6th Sect. of the Articles of War & sentenced to receive 300 lashes at three different times, 100 for each Crime—The Genl approves the sentence and orders the execution of it to begin tomorrow morning at the Regt to which he belongs & compleatted at the discretion of the commd'g officers of the Regt.

B: O:

Adjut of the Day from the 7th Regt.

Guard.

	Sub.	*S.*	*C.*	*P.*	*Commd*	*R. S:*	*F. P*	*G. F. P*	*C. S*	*F. P.*
1st Regt		2	1	14	2		20	6		7
2nd do	1	1	1	6	Corpl 1	1	8	2		3
7th do		1	0	8	1	1	12	4		4
10th do		2	1	7	0	1	10	3	1	3
	1	6	3	35	1	5	2 : 50	15	1	17

B. O.

April 19th 1778.

The officers and soldiers off duty belonging to the first Brigade commanded by Genl. Wayne, to parade precisely at four O'clock this afternoon; it is expected that every soldier will appear as decent as possible arms & accouterments in good order.

Geo. Nagle Col. Commdg.[104]

Head Quarters Valley Forge, April 17th 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . . Poor.
Field Officers, Col. Bradford and Lt. Col. Russell.
Brigade Major . . . . . Minnes.
Inspector from the 2nd Penna. Brigade.

[104] *George Nagel,* recruited a company of riflemen in Berks Co., 1775, for Thompson's Battalion of Riflemen, which participated in the siege of Boston with distinction; promoted Jany 1776, Major 5 Penna. Battalion; captured at Fort Washington. Exchanged and appointed Lieut. Col. 9 Penna. Line, Oct. 1776; promoted Col. 10 Penna. Line Feby 1778; became supernumerary July 1778.

The Quartermasters are desired to go into the country and make contracts with proper persons for bringing in milk and other necessaries for the sick; such contracts it is expected they will compleat by the 21st inst, After which day no papers is to be granted to any persons whatsoever to go out of Camp for the purpose of purchasing provisions of any kind. No officer, soldier, or other person belonging the Army, shall go or send out to purchase any of those articles which are usually brought to market or bargain for them any where else than the places appointed for Markets nor shall any of the inhabitants expose their marketing for sale any other places, the purchasers on pain of being trye'd for disobedience of orders and the Venders of forfeiting the full stock brought in: and for the more essentual discovery of any breach of the Order.

Whoever gives information of such breach will be entitled to the articles sold or offered for sale or the value to be recovered from the purchasers; all permits to go out of Camp are for the future to be granted by Brigadiers or Officers Commdg Brigades. The Officers of the Guard at Sulivan's Bridge is carefully to inspect the passes offered them and make himself a judge of their authority.

Returns are immediately to be made, immediately to Lieut Col. Meade at Head Quaters of all the parties that have joined their Regts since the first of the present month by the officer who marched them to Camp, distinguishing the Drafts from the Inlisted or Reinlisted, and similar returns to be made to him, of such parties, as shall arrive hereafter immediately upon their coming to Camp. The Commanding Officers of Regts are reminded of the order of the 18th of last March relative to the inoculation of the small-pox &c—the strictest attention to it is called for to prevent taking it in the natural way.—A subaltern, 6 sergts, 6 corporals, and 80 privates, will parade tomorrow morning at Guard Mounting with three days provisions; good trusty hardy, marksmen must compose the Detachment.—

B: O:

Adjutant of the Day tomorrow from the 10th Reg[t]

Detail for Guard.

												B. F.	C. F.
		C:	Sub:	S:	C:	P:	W :	C	P	Sub:	B:	P	P.
1st	Reg[t]	0	1	2	1	14		2				20	7
2nd	do	0	0	1	1	6		1		1:	1:	8	3
7th	do			1	1	8		2				12	4
10th	do			1	0	7		1			1:	10	3
		—	—	—	—	—		—		—	—	—	—
			1:	5:	3:	35		6		1	2:	50	17

April 17th 1778, Regimental Orders.

The Colonel is sorry to find that so little attention has been given to the General Order, for cutting the mens hair—Now desires that the commanding officers of companys in Camp, will see the order punctually complyd with, tomorrow, no longer delay will be dispensed with.

HENRY BICKER.

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE, April 18, 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . . Mulinberg.
Field Officers . . Col Green, L[t] Co[l] Melin.[105]
Brigade Major . . . . . Clayburn.[106]
Inspector from Gen[l] Poor's Brigade.

In the return called for yesterday from the officers marching parties into Camp, the Gen[l] expects lists of the mens names in which distinctions will be made of the Drafts Reinlisted, and others; the officers are also to ascertain the numbers that were committed to their charge in the several States they march'd from, and account for the difference if any there be between that, and the number they bring to Camp; they are also to

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[105] *James Mellen*, of Capt. Ward's Mass. Regt. 1775; Capt. 21 Cont. Inf. Jany 1776; Major Aug 1776; Lieut. Col. 9 Mass. 1776, to 4 Mass. Jany 1781. Lieut. Col. Comd't 3 Mass. 1783.

[106] *Buller Clairborne*, 2 Lieut. 2 Va. Oct. 1775; Capt. 1776–77; served as Brig. Major and also aide-de-Camp Gen. Lincoln, 1778–79

note against each man's name, the Regt to which he belongs, and goes to; this order is to be very strictly complyed with.

Shoes and stockings are to be had at the Clothier's store for the soldiers.

At a Division Court Martial whereof Col Smith was president, Sergt Hellam, of Genl Vernom's Guard, tryed for Insulting a number of officers and attempting with an Iron ramrod, for to strike Lieut. Hill, and endeavoring to cause and excite a mutiny, found guilty of the charges exhibited against him, being breaches of the 3d and 5th Articles 2d Sect. of the Articles of War, and sentenced to be reduced to the ranks and receive 50 lashes on his bare back; the Commander-in-Chief approves the sentence and orders it to take place tomorrow at the head of the Regt to which he belongs.

At a Genl Court Martial whereof Col. Craig was president, April 5th, 1778, Samual Harvey an inhabitant of this State tryed for attempting to supply the enemy with provision acquitted and orders him immediately to be discharged from his confinement. At the same court by adjournment April the 16th 78, Thos. Fitchgerald & David Rish Inhabitants of this State tryed for attempting to relieve the enemy with provisions, found guilty of a breach of the Resolution of Congress October the 8th 77. and extended &c, sentenced each to receive 100 lashes on their bare backs.

B: O:

Adjt of the Day tomorrow from the 2nd Regt.

Detail for Guard.

		C:	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P.*	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P.*	*CF*	*S.*	*C.*	*P.*
1st	Regt	0	0	1	1	14	0	0	0	20			1	8
2d	do		1	1	1	5*R.F.*		1	0	8			3	3
7th	do		0	1	0	8	1	0	0	11			0	5
10th	do		0	1	1	8		1	0	11		1	1	4
			1:	4:	3:	35	1:	2:	1:	50		1:	2:	20

Regimental Orders, April 18th, 1778.

All the waiters of the Regiment to attend roll call every evening with their arms and accouterments, in good order—and once a day with the Regiment to learn to march & manouver.

The Colonel also expects that the Officers will attend the Parade better than they have hitherto done, particularly, when the Brigade is to manouver etc. A Regimental Court Martial to sit tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock for the tryal of all such prisoners as may be brought before them.

Capt Jenkins,[107]
President.

Lieut Jones[108] } Members, Lieut. Norton.[109]
Lieut Purell[110] }

Head Quarters Valley Forge April 19, 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . Patterson.
Field Officers, Lt. Col. Miller, Major Ward.[111]
Brigade Major . . . . . McCormick.
Inspector from Gen[l] Glover's Brigade.

For detachment, Major Dickingson; the sub-inspectors will each superintend the discipline of the Brigades according to the following Division viz: M[r] Frenent,

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[107] *George Jenkins,* 2 Lieut., Oct. 1775, 1 Lieut. Jany, 1776, 1 Penna. Battalion, Col. de Haas; promoted Capt. 2 Penna. Line.

[108] *James Morris Jones,* 2 Lieut. Jany, 1777, 1 Lieut. March, 1777, 2 Penna. Line, 1 Lieut. 1 Penna. Line, Jany 1783.

[109] *Thomas Norton,* of Philada., Sergeant 2 Penna. Line, 1777; promoted Ensign, March 1777; 2 Lieut. April 1777, 1 Lieut., Q M. and Inspector, 1778–9; resigned Sept. 3, 1779.

[110] *Henry de Purcell,* Ensign; 2 Lieut. Oct. 1777; 1 Lieut. Sept. 1779. 2 M. 1783, 2 Penna. Line.

[111] *Samuel Ward,* Capt. Varnum's R. I. Regt. May 1775; taken prisoner at Quebec Dec. 1775, exchanged 1776, Major 1 R. I. Jany 1777; Lieut. Col. May, 1778; retired Jany 1781. Died Aug. 16, 1832.

Woodford's, Scotts' and McIntoshe's, Lt. Col. Brooks, 1st and 2d Penns. Poor's and Glovers', Lt. Col. Davis, Larnard's, Patterson's, Weeden's and Mulinberg's, Lt. Col. Harber, Maxwell's, late Conway's, Huntingtons, and Varnoms; The Orderly Office will be opened at Gen^{l} Varnom's late Quaters, between his and Gen^{l} Huntington's brigade; the Medicine chests in Gen'l Patterson's & Larnard's Brigades to be sent immediately to Mr. Cutting's Apothecary Gen'l at the Yellow Springs, to be refilled.

At a Gen'l. Court Martial whereof Col. Craig was president, April the 15th, 1778, Hugh Backer a Forrage Master tryed for pressing a horse from Daniel Gamble without authority for so doing, for not returning a horse into the Continental Yard until complaint was made against them, also for abusing Joseph Smedly an inhabitant of Chester County and confining him under guard without any order or authority for doing & taking his horse without giving a receipt or shewing his warrant for so doing: found guilty and sentenced to be discharged the service, and to have as much of his Pay stopt to satisfy Mr. Smedley for his horse. The Commander-in-Chief approves the sentence and orders it to take place immediately.

B. O.

Adju^{t} of the Day tomorrow from the 1st Reg^{t}.

Detail.

	Guard			*Detach.*						*R. F.*		
	C:	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*	*C:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P*			20
1st Reg^{t}	0	0	2	1	14	0	0	0	8		1	8
2nd do	0	0	1	1	5	0	0	1	3	1	0	11
7th do			1	1	8	1	0	1	4		0	11
10th do		1	1	1	8	0	1	0	4			
	1	5	4	35		1:	1:	2:	19	1:	1:	50

Company F.

Sub:			*S:*	*P.*
1st	Regt	1	1	8
2nd	do		0	3
7th	do			5
10th	do		1	4
		1:	2:	20

Valley Forge, April 20th, 1778.

Regimental Orders.

A return to be made immediately by commanding officers of companies specifying what clothes they have delivered to their men since the first of January last, and what articles yet remain on hand.

Henry Bicker, Col. Commd'g.

Head Quarters Valley Forge, April 20, 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . . Maxwell.
Field Officers. Lt. Col. Wesingfelt[112] Major Porter.
Brigade Major . . . . . Benjamin.
Inspectors from Genl Learnerd's Brigade.

Passes signed by Doctr Cochran to any in his Department may be deem'd[113] vallid.

Division Orders.

In pursuance of Genl Orders the whole Division is to parade the day after tomorrow at 10 o'clock, fresh shaved, well powdered, arms & accouterments in the best order possible; no fatigue on that day—Doctr Jones[114] will

[112] *Frederick Weisenfels*, Capt. 1 N. Y. June, 1775; Lieut. Col. 3 N. Y. March,1776; Lieut. Col. 4, N. Y. Jany, 1779; retired Jany, 1781. Died May 14, 1806.

[113] See Penna. Mag. Hist. & Biog. vol. iii, p. 241.

[114] *Rev. David Jones*, was appointed Chaplain to Wayne's and Shea's Battalions in 1776; transferred to 3 Penna. Line: Chaplain Wayne's expedition against the Indians 1784; in War 1812; died Feby 5, 1820, aged 84 years, and buried in cemetery of Great Valley Baptist Church, Chester Co. Pa.

deliver a sermon to the 2[d] Brigade, and Doct[r] [Robert] Blackwell[115] to the first, sutable to the occasion at which every officer at the head of his Corps will punctually attend. The Drums and fifes having now arrived from Lancaster, it is the Genls' positive orders, that each officer exerts himself in perfecting the men in their march and wheelings, for which purpose they will have them out twice a day at the hours directed in Genl Orders; no excuse will be admitted for the neglect of the Quarter-masters, with respect to their keeping the parade and ground in the vicinity of the Camp clean. horses for supporting the Arms Must be immediately fixed and constantly kept up this order has been heretofore too much neglected.

ANTHONY WAYNE B. G.

B: O:

Adj[t] of the Day tomorrow from the 7[th] Reg[t].

Guard	*Detail*				*N: C:*				*R. F.*				
	C:	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*
1[st] Reg[t]	0	0	1	1	13	0	0	0	7	0	1	0	20
2[nd] do	0	1	1	0	6			1	2	0	0	0	8
7[th] do	0	0	1	1	8				4	1			11
10[th] do	0	0	2	1	8	1	0	0	3	0	1		11
		1	5	3	35	1	0	1	16	1	2	0	50

A Regimental Court Martial for the tryal of all such as may be bro[t] before them

CAPT PETER GOSNER, *President;*[116]

LT. JONES, LT. DARRAGH,[117] } *Members* { LT. WAGGONER, LT. NORTON,

April 21, 1778. HENRY BICKER, COL[o].

[115] *Rev. Dr. Blackwell,* was also Acting Surgeon 1 Penna. Line in 1778.

[116] *Peter Gosner,* 1 Lieut. and Capt., retired Jany 1781.

[117] *Charles Darragh,* former clerk to Com. Seymour; Ensign and Lieut. 1777, became Supernumerary 1778.

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE, Ap 21, 1778.

Brig^r tomorrow . . . . . Wayne,
Field Off^s. . Lt. Col. Harney[118] Lt. Col Bufford,
Brig^r Maj^r . . . . . Baily,
Inspect^r . . . . . Patterson.

No Paymasters is to be discharged by the Comm^r-in-Chief or Officer Com'dg a separate department, and none of them are to apply for discharges without first obtaining and producing from the Paymas^r Gen^l Auditors of acc^ts & officers com'g the Reg^ts they belong^d to and to have ample Certificates, of their having settled their acc^s promptly with the public & their Reg^ts; this is to be considered as a standing Order.

The Col. and comm^g officers of Reg^ts are to make an invariable rule to review their respective Reg^ts once in every week, look into the state of them and where every man is; The Brig^ds and officers comm^g Brigades are to do the same by their respective Brigade at least once a fortnight, in a word tis expected from both that every possible care & attention be paid to keep their men together & the arms cloathes & accuterments belonging to them in good order; these are also to be considered as standing orders, but not to supercede the daily inspection of subordinate officers agreeable to former orders.

At Brigade Court Martial whereof Maj^r Haws[119] was pres'd^t, Ap^l 19^th |78, Lt^s John Coffer & Chas. Lewis Broadwater, of the 10th Virg. Reg^t, try'd for obtaining a certificate from the com'g officer of their Reg^t that they were not indebted to the Continent & after obtaining a certificate unlike Gent^n without Right or Justice went to the Virg^a State Stores & procured a Quantity of goods designd only for such off's & soldiers from that State as

[118] *Selby Harney*, Major S N. C. Nov. 1776, Lieut. Col. 2 N. C. Nov. 1777, taken prisoner at Charleston, S. C., retired Jany 1783.

[119] *Samuel Hawes*, Capt. 2 Va. Feby 1776, Major 10 Va. Oct. 1777, Lieut. Col. 6 Va. March 1778, to 5 Va. Jany. 1783.

remaind in the service; after mature deliberation from the evidence produc'd the Court are of opinion that L^{ts} Coffer & Broadwater are guilty of a breach of 21st Art 24th Section, Art^{s} of War & sentenc'd to be discharg'd the service, and compelled to deliver the Cloathing into the store which they drew since they obtained a certificate of their not being in debt to the public, and that their resignation be taken from them by the comm^{dg} officer of their Reg^{t}: the Comm^{r}-in-Chief approves the sentence and orders it immediatly to take place.

B. O.

A Gen^{l} Brig^{d} Court Martial to sit next Thursday nine o'clock whereof L^{t} Co^{l} Miller is appointed Pres; he will appoint the place of sitting: a Capt^{n} & two Sub^{s} from each Reg^{t} form the Court.

Adj^{t} for the day tomorrow from the 10th Reg^{t}.

Detail for Guard.

2^{d} Regt.	*Cap.*	*S.*	*S.*	*C.*	*P*
	1		1	1	6

Head Quarters Valley Forge, April 22, 1778.

Brigadier of tomorrow . . . . Varnom,
Field officers . . Lt. Col. Coleman Major ——,
Brigade Major . . . . . Haskill,
Inspectors from Gen^{l} Weeden's Brigade.

The Forrage Master Gen^{l} is without delay to appropriate a sufficient number of wheatfields in the vicinity of Camp to serve as forrage ground, to allot to each Brigade an extent proportioned to its strength, which to be clearly marked out, and to make report of the whole to Head Quaters and to the Quater Master Gen^{l} as well as a particular return to the Brigade Forrage Master for the proportion assigned to his Brigade—The comm^{dg} officers of Reg^{ts} are to give strict orders to prevent mutual Incroachments by exceeding the limits assigned to it.

Lieu[t] Syms de Hart is appointed paymaster of the first New Jersey Reg[t] vice Aaron Ogden resigned.

B. O.

Adjut. of the Day tomorrow from the 2[d] Reg[t].

		Detail				*B: F.*					*C. F.*		
		C.	*Sub.*	*S.*	*C.*	*P*	*C.*	*Sub.*	*S.*	*C.*	*P*	*S.*	*C.*	*P*
1st	Reg	1	1	1	16	0	0	1	0	23				8
2nd	do		1	1	7		1	0	0	8		1	0	3
7th	do		1	0	9		0	0	0	11	1	0	0	5
10th	do		1	1	6			1	0	8	1	0	0	4

Head Quarters Valley Forge, April 23, 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . . . Poor
Field Officers . Lt. Col. Basset[120] Major Haws.
Brigade Major . . . . . Silley
Inspector from Gen[l] Mulenberg's Brigade.

A most scandelous performance has made it appearance in the Phil[ada] Evening Post of the 3[d] of this month; bearing all ye marks of a genuine Act of Congress, setting forth that these brave men who have enlisted or have been drafted to serve in the Continental Army for any limited time are never-the-less to be detained during the war between the United States and Great Britain, the Commander-in-Chief assures the Army that this publication is as false as it is wicked; and is intended to induce those who have already enlisted or have been drafted to desert or to intimidate others, from engaging into the service of their Country—Our enemy's finding themselves unable to reduce us by the force of their arms, are now practising every insidous act to gain time, and disunite us, but the Gen[l] hopes that men who have struggled through every difficulty and encountered every danger, are not to be conquered by artifices which are so easy exposed; it is necessary to give warning to such weak

[120] *Barakiah Bassett*, Lieut. Col. 14 Mass. Nov. 1776; retired Jany. 1781; died June 13 1813.

men, as might otherwise be Detered by the treatcherous promisices of the enemy that under pretence of sending deserters from this army, passage free to Great Britain, or Ireland to be set at large they confine them on ship-board with a view either to force them into their service as seeming; or to transport them into some Garrison.

The Medicine Chests from Poor's and Glover's Brigades to be sent to M[r] Cuttings Apothecary Gen[l] at the Yellow Springs to be refilled, from the first and second Pens[a] Brigade next Saturday.

B: O:

Adj[t] of the Day from the first Regt.

Detail.

		C:	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*	*R. F.*	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*
1st	Reg[t]			1	1	15		1	0	0	20
2nd	do	0	1	1	1	6			1	0	8
7th	do	0	0	1	1	9					12
10th	do	0	0	1	0	7			1		10

Head Quarters Valley Forge, April 24th 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . Mulinberg,
Field Officers . L[t] Co[l] Rignear & Major Peters,[121]
Brigade Major . . . . . Walker,
Inspector from Gen[l] Maxwell's Brigade.

Brigade Orders

Adj[t] of the Day tomorrow from the 7th Reg[t].

		Detail					*G. F.*	*R. F.*		
		C:	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*	*P*	*Sub*	*S.*	*P*
1st	Reg[t]		1	1	1	16	3	0	1	20
2nd	do			1	1	6	1		0	8
7th	do			1	0	8	2	1	0	11
10th	do			2	1	8	1	0	1	11
			1	5	3	38	7	1	2	50

[121] *Andrew Peters*, Major 2 Mass. Jany 1777; Lieut. Col. 15 Mass. 1779; resigned Nov. 26 1779; died Feby 5 1822.

Regimental Orders, April 24th, 1778.

Frederick Long[122] soldier in Cap^{t} Staddle's[123] company is appointed Corporal & is to be respected and obeyed as such: Joseph Fitch[124] of Cap^{t} Jenkings is also appointed Corporal and is to be obeyed as such.

Head Quarters Valley Forge, Ap^{l} 25th, 1778.

Brig^{r} tomorrow . . . . . Patterson,
Field Officers . L^{t} Col Oleny,[125] Maj^{r} Minges.[126]
Brig^{e} Major . . . . . .
Inspector from Gen^{l} Conway's Brigade.

The Court Martial whereof Col Craig was President of is dissolved & another ordered to sit in a Hut near Gen^{l} Varnum's Brigade next Monday 10 o'clock a. m. for the tryal of all prisoners bro^{t} before them. Col Febiger[127] is appointed Presd^{t}, each Brig^{e} gives a Capt^{n} to this Court. Lt. Col. Gibson[128] of the 13th, is appointed to the command of the 6th Virg^{a} Reg^{t}. Edw^{d} Harris in one of the Virg^{a} Regts by applying at the Auditor's office may hear of something to his advantage, if he is absent his officers are desired to send information to said office where he is.

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[122] Subsequently promoted Sergeant and served to 1781.

[123] *Christian Staddles,* 2d & 1 Lieut. 1 Penna. Battalion, Capt. 2 Penna. Line.

[124] Served also in companies of Capts. Marshall & Tolberts.

[125] *Jeremiah Olney,* Capt. in Hitchcock's R. I., 1775; Capt. 11 Continental Infantry, 1776; Lieut. Col. 2 R. I., Jany., 1777; to 1 R. I. Jany., 1781. Died Nov. 10, 1812.

[126] *Francis Mentges,* Adjutant Penna. Musketry Battalion, Col. Atlee March 1776, 1 Lieut., Aug. 1776, Major 11 Penna. Line Oct. 1776, Lieut. Col. 5 Penna. Line, Oct. 1778, retired Jany 1783.

[127] *Christian Febiger,* Adj^{t} Gerrish's Mass. Regt. 1775; Brigade Major in Arnold's Canadian expedition, taken prisoner of war at Quebec, Dec. 1775; exchanged Nov. 1776. Lt. Col. 11 Va., Colonel 1777, to 2 Va. 1778. Retired Jany. 1783. Died Sept. 20, 1796.

[128] *John Gibson,* Lieut. Col. 13 Va. Nov. 1776; Col. 6 Va. Oct. 1777; to 9 Va. Sept. 1778; to 7 Va. Feb. 1781. Died April 10 1822.

Brig^e Orders:

A Capt^n from the 2nd Reg^t to attend the Court Martial as a member on mond^y 10 o'clock a. m. at the place mentioned in Gen^l Orders.

Adj^t of the Day to morrow from the 10th Reg^t.

Detail for Guard

	Serg^t	*D*	*F*	*Priv*	*Detachment for*
2^d Reg^t	1	1	1	7	*Command^r*
Redoubt Fatigue					1 Priv
1 serg^t	9 Priv				*Horse Guard* 2 Privates

Head Quarters Valley Forge, April 26^th 1778.

Brigadier tomorrow . . . . . Maxwell,
Field Officers, Col. Broadhead[129] Lt. Col. Brayley,
Brigade Major . . . . . Mervin.
Inspector from Gen^l Huntington's Brigade.

The Comm^dr-in-Chief has been informed that it is a common practice for soldiers to go about the country and make use of his name to extort from the inhabitants by way of sale or gift any necessaries they want for themselves or others; he strictly enjoins it upon all officers to take the most effectual measures to stop a practice so daring and infamous; and assures all concerned that if any person shall be detected in the commission of it, they will be punished with every mark of disgrace and severity. [?] Martial Adjut. of the 2^d New York Reg^t is appointed to do the duty of Brigade Major until further orders, and to be respected accordingly. The commd^g

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[129] *Daniel Brodhead*, born in New York, came to Penna. 1738, settled in what is now Monroe Co.; 1771 removed to Berks Co. and appointed Deputy Surveyor to Surveyor General Lukens. In July 1775 delegate to Prov. Convention in Philada. Com. Lieut. Col. Penna. Rifle Regt. Col. S. Miles March 1776; to 3 Penna. Battalion, Oct. 26, 1776; Lieut. Col. 4 Penna. Line; Col. 8 Penna. Line, 1777; Col. 1 Penna. Line, Jany 1781. Bvt. Brig. Gen. Sept. 1783. Made some treaties with Indians, and received thanks of Congress. Member of Assembly, appointed Surveyor General 1789. Died in Pike Co. Nov. 15, 1809.

officers of Regts are desired to wait on the Commdr-in-Chief at Head Quartes precicely at 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

Adjut of the Day tomorrow from the 2d Regt.

		Guard.				*Detail.*						
						Detch.				*R. F.*		
		C.	*Sub.*	*S.*	*C.*	*P.*	*Sub.*	*S.*	*C.*	*P.*	*S.*	*C.*	*P.*
1st	Regt			1	1	15	1	1	1	6			19
2nd	do			2	0	6	1	0	0	3	1	0	9
7th	do			1	1	3	0	0	1	5	1	0	13
10th	do			1	1	8	0	0	0	4	0	0	9
				5:	3:	32	2:	1:	2:	18	2:	0:	50

Valley Forge, April 27th 1778.

Regimental Orders.

Robt McCaleb Corpl in Capt Stoddles company is appointed Sergt in said company and is to be respected and obeyed as such.

Head Quarters Valley Forge, April 27th 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . Wayne
Field Officers . Lt Col. Vose Major Hay
Brigade Major . . . . . .Johnston,
Inspector from Genl Varnom's Brigade.

Lieut. Col Flury is to act as sub-Inspector and will attend the Baron Steuben till circumstances will admit of assigning him a Division of the Army. Each sub-Inspector is to be attended daily by a Orderly Sergt drawn by turns from the Brigade of his Inspection, that the necessary orders may be communicated without delay.

A few Continental Tickets to be sold at the Orderly Office, the Drawing of the Lottery the first of next month.

B: O:

Adju[t] of the Day tomorrow from the 5[th] Reg[t].

Guard.

						Detch.					*B: F:*		
		C.	*Sub.*	*S.*	*C.*	*P.*	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C.*	*P.*	*Sub.*	*S.*	*P.*
1[st]	Reg[t]			2	1	14	0	0	0	2	1	10	20
2[nd]	do			1	1	6				1		1	9
7[th]	do			1	1	8			1	1		0	12
10[th]	do			1	0	8	1	1	0	1		1	9

Head Quarters Valley Forge, April 28th.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . . Varnum.
Field Officers . L[t] Col. Haskill Major Folbert.
Brigade Major . . . . . Minnes
Inspector from Genl Woodford's Brigade.

The Medicine Chests from Scotts' and Woodford's Brigades to be sent to the Yellow Springs tomorrow, to be refilled by the Apothecary Gen[l] M[r] Cutting.

The sentences against David Rush and Thos Fitzgerald mentioned in the orders of the 18th inst are commuted into one months constant Fitague each. The comm[dg] officers of Reg[ts] are desired to keep their men from straggling that they may be ready to turn out on the shortest notice; it is expected that the several Brigades will be compleated with 40 rounds pr man; the Brigade Quater Masters will make out returns immediately for that purpose, they must be signed by the commd[g] officers of Brigades.

B: O:

Adj[t] of the Day tomorrow from the 7[th] Reg[t].

Detail

		C.	*Sub.*	*S.*	*C.*	*P.*	*R: F:*	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*
1[st]	Reg[t]	0	0	2	1	14					19
2[nd]	do			1	1	6		1	1	0	9
7[th]	do		1	1	0	9		0	1	0	12
10[th]	do	1	0	2	1	7		0	0	0	10
		1:	1:	6:	3:	36		1:	2:	0:	50

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE April 29th 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . . Poor.
Field Officers . Col. Clark, Major Gaskin.[130]
Brigade Major . . . . . Clayburn.
Inspector from the first Penns[a] Brigade.

Major Lydard is removed from the 4th New York Reg[t] to the first. Each officer who mounts guard in future will bring his name, Reg[t] and Brigade wrote on a piece of paper which he is to deliver to the Brigade Major of the Day, when he is appointing the officers to the several Guards. A strict compliance to this order is expected, as it will shorten the duty of the parade. Those Reg[ts] who are in want of shoes may be supplied by applying to the Clothiers Genl's store. Complaint having been made by Mr. Dewees, proprietor of the Valley Forge, that the soldier's pull down the houses and break up the fore bay: of which is called the Valley Forge, the Commander-in-Chief strictly forbids all persons from further damages to the said buildings, and works, which he hopes will be particularly attended to especily when they consider the great loss that Mr. Dewees has already suffered, and by the great waste which our Army has been under the necessity of committing upon the wood and other improvements. As some inconvenience has attended the Gen[l] Order of the 17th inst. by confining the purchase of milk and other necessaries for the use of the sick to the Reg[ts] by the Regimental Quatermasters [?] of that mode discreet Serg[ts] and a few men according to the number of sick in the Reg[t] are to be sent out dayly to purchase such articles with passes from the officers commd[g] Brigades respectively.

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[130] *Thomas Gaskins*, Capt. 5 Va. Feb. 1776, Major Nov. 1777, Lieut. Col. 4 Va. May, 1778, to 3 Va. Sept., 1778.

B: O:

Adjutant of the Day tomorrow from the 10th Regt.

Guard.

		C:	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*	*R:*	*F:*	*C:*	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P*
1st	Regt		1	1	1	14					1		19
2nd	do			2	1	6							9
7th	do			1	0	9							12
10th	do			1	1					1	1	0	10

The Col. Comndt orders the commd'g officers of companys in the different Regts in this Brigade to have their Muster Rolls ready to be Mustered the 1st Day of May.

GEO. NAGLE, COL. COMD'T.

Lost the 25th inst between the sign of the Hat & the White Horse, on Lancaster road, a black Leather pocket Book, brass hasp, containing a number of valuable papers a diamond ring and about 100 Dollars in Cash, part of which and several small bills of different States. 30 Dollars Reward to any one person who will leave the same at the Orderly Office.

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE, April 30th, 1778.

Brigadier tomorrow . . . . McIntosh
Field Officers . Col Harmar[131] Major Buchard,[132]
Brigade Major . . . . . McCormick,
Inspectors from the 2nd Penna. Brigade.

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[131] *Josiah Harmar*, Capt. 1 Penna. Battalion Col de Haas Oct 1775, served in Canada Campaign. Major 3 Penna. Line Oct. 1776, Lieut. Col. 6 Penna. Line, June 1777. Lieut. Col. 7 Penna. Line, 1780, to 3 Penna. Line, Jany 1781; Lieut. Col. 1 Penna Line 1783. Bvt. Col Sept. 30, 1783. Commanded the Penna troops after the war, in defence of frontiers, until he was made Commander-in-Chief U. S. Army; Lieut. Col. comdt. 1 U. S. Infantry 1789–92; Bvt Brig. Gen. July 31, 1787. Resigned Jany. 1792. Adjutant General Penna. 1793–1799. Died in Philada. Aug. 20, 1813.

[131] *Daniel Burchardt*, of Penna. Capt. German Regt. July 1776, Major 1777. Resigned July 2 1779.

Advertisement.

Found near Gen'l Woodford's Brigade, a small seal set in pinchback, one side plain the other side a head & two faces, the seal is with the comm^{dg} Officers of the Brigade.

B: O:

Adj^{t} of the Day tomorrow from the 2^{d} Reg^{t}.

Guard Detail.

						2 Weeks Detail							
		C:	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*
1st	Reg^{t}		1	1	15		1	1			1	0	19
2nd	do	1	1	1	6		0	1				0	9
7th	do		1	0	9			1		1	0	0	12
10th	do		1	1	7			1			1	0	10
		1	4	3	37		1	4		1:	2:	0:	50

Head Quarters Valley Forge May 1st 1778.

Brigadier tomorrow . . . . Mulinberg.
Field Officers Col. Courtland[133] Lt. Col. Innes.[134]
Brigade Major . . . . . Ogden.
Inspectors from Genl Poors Brigade.

The Brigade Quatermasters are daily to attend at the Orderly officer precisely at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. It is expected this order will be strictly complyed with as the delinquents may depend are being severely noticed by the Q^{t}Master Genl. As the Adjut Gen^{l} is now furnished with the names of all the men in the Hospitals and the Reg^{ts} they belongs to, also of those who have died, deserted and discharged from them at Different times, officers commanding Reg^{ts} and companies are therefore desired immediately to apply to him and get an exact account of their men respectively before they attest their Muster Rolls for the last month and every month here-

[133] *Philip Van Cortland,* Lieut. Col. 4 N. Y. 1775, Col. 2 N. Y. Nov 1776, Served to close of war. Bvt Brig Gen. Sept 30 1783. Died Nov. 5, 1831.

[134] *James Innes,* Lieut. Col. 15 Va. Nov. 1776.

after, as such returns are to be made regular, for the future to prevent the uncertainty hitherto experienced; the Muster Master and his Deputies are also ordered to be more careful hereafter and not to certify any Muster Rolls, unless the duty of every man is on and the Hospital he is in be mentioned in the Muster Roll.

On the day of Muster the men are to be brought on the parade clean dressed in their regimentals with their arms and accouterments, they are to be drawn up in the order they stand on the Roll, with their arms shouldered and Bayonets fixed. The officers take post in front of their respective companies and to continue there during the time of muster: the field and staff officers are to attend and no officer or soldier to be absent unless on duty or prevented by sickness: the Rolls must be made out with all possible fairness and agreeable to the directions given by the officers of Musters.

A certain number of Picquets will be fixed up in front of the lines by direction of the Inspector Gen[l]. A sufficient number of centinals from each Brigade are to be posted with strict orders to prevent their being removed.

A Genl Court Martial of which Major Tyler is appointed president is ordered to sit tomorrow a. m. 10. o'clock at the Gulf Mills, to try such persons as may be brought before them; six Captains and eight Subalterns will attend as members.

B: O:

Adjutant of the Day, tomorrow from the first Regt.

Detail

	Guard				*R: F:*			
	C:	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:* *P:*	*C:*	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:* *P:*
1st Regt			1	1 15			1	0 19
2nd do			1	1 6			1	0 9
7th do			1	1 9			0	0 12
10th do			1	1 7			0	0 10
			4:	4: 37			2:	0: 50

Head Quarters Valley Forge May 2d, 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . . Patterson
Field Officers Lt Col. Brant & Major Johnston
Brigade Major . . . . . McKenney
Inspector from Genl Glover's Brigade.

The Commander-in-Chief directs that Divine services be performed every Sunday at 11 o'clock in those Brigades in which there are Chaplains; those that have none, to attend the places nearest them; it is expected that officers of all ranks, by their attendance will set an example to all their men while we are zealously preforming the duty of good Christians, and soldiers, we certainly ought not to be inattentive to the higher duties of Religion, and to the distinguished character of Patriot. It should be our highest glory to add the more distinguished character of Christian, the signal instances of providential Goodness, which we have experienced, and have now almost crown'd our labour with complete success, demands from us in a peculiar manner the warmest returns of Gratitude and Piety to the Supream Author of all Goodness.

B: O:

Adjutant of the day tomorrow from the 7th Reg'.

		Guards.					*Detail.*					
					Detach					*R. F.*		
		C:	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P*
1st	Regt	0	0	1	1	15	0	0	2		1	0	20
2nd	do	0	0	1	1	6	0	0	1	1	0	0	8
7th	do	0	1	1	1	8	0	1	1	0	1	0	10
10th	do	0	0	2	0	8	0	0	1	0	0	0	10
		0:	1:	5:	3:	37	0:	1:	5	1:	2:	0:	48

Inspector's Orders May ye 2d, 1778.

The Adjutants to make return every morning at 9 o'clock, to the Brigade Inspector of their respective Regt as follows:

	Capt^{s}	Sub^{s}	Noncommy^{d}	Privates
Whole Reg^{t} . .	4	12	38	400
In service of ye Gds	1	3	5	82
Fitague . . .	0	1	2	30
S present . .	0	0	1	6
Detached . . .	0	0	1	10
Under Arms .	3	8	29	272
Total	8	24	76	800

Every day, the Adjutant of the Day is to order two officers, 4 non-commis^{d} officers, and a drummer, to preserve the police in the Camp of the Reg^{t}: these officers and non-commis^{d} officers are to be the whole day in the camp of the Reg^{t} and they are to be at all distribution of provisions etc—which are made then; they are to conduct the soldiers when they go for water, wood, straw etc, in the following order, in the morning the officer of police orders the drummer to beat their double strockes, which is the signal to go for water. Then they assemble the soldiers with their canteens, on the centre of their Regimental parades, the officers form them in rank and platoon a non-Comms^{d} officers as bringer up, Conducts them to water and brings them back in the same manner which is to be done three or four times a day as occasion may require, the same order to be observed when the soldiers go for wood, the signal will be 4 strocks on the drum, then the soldiers assemble with their axes, like wise the same order is to be observed when they go for straw, or other necessaries.

Division Orders, May ye 2^{d} 1778.

The Division to parade to morrow at 10 o'clock in the neatest and most solderly order possible, with wooden snappers fixed in each firelock, which are to be taken out and the flints replaced as soon as the manovering is over; the officers will appear at the head of their respective Reg^{ts} and make it a point, of seeing that the whole of

their men parade. The Gen[l] is confident that each officer has an equal wish with himself to excell not only in the field, but the parade, he therefore thinks any repetition of orders with regard to their attention to manovering their men, to be unnecessary. But as he finde that too many men are absent at the hours of exercise—The following orders must be fixed upon the doors of each hutt to the end that no person may plead ignorance of them. Viz: no soldier in future is to be absent on the hours allotted for exercise, ether for water, provisions or any other pretext, what soever, except on duty on pain of being severely punished. The officers and Brigade Inspectors will be careful to see this order duly executed. The Commisary is immediatly to issue one gill of rum to each man in the Division, for which the Comm[dg] officers of the respective Reg[ts] will sign returns; the liquors lately seized will be appropriated for this and like occasions. No Fatigue to turn out on Sunday nor the Guards to be relieved except the Main Guard, until after exercising.

ANTHONY WAYNE B: G.

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE, May 3[d], 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . Maxwell,
Field Officers . Col. Westfair, Major Thier,
Brigade Major . . . . . Bannister.
Inspector from Gen[l] Larnard's Brigade.
For Detachment Col. Hall, Major Sumner.

In future no guard in Camp is to be suffered to be on duty more than 48 hours without being relieved; on Monday next the several Brigades will begin their exercise at 6 o'clock and continue to 8 o'clock in the morning, from 5 to 6 in the afternoon; the men for Guard not to attend the exercise.

The Medicine Chests from Lord Stirlings Division to be sent to the Yellow Spring's immediately, to be filled by the Apothicary Gen. The paymasters of the Marquisses

and Gen[l]. Waynes Division are to call on the Pay-master Gen[l] for a months pay next Monday.

B: O:

Adjutant of the Day tomorrow from the 10[th] Reg[t].

Detail.

Guards.

	C:	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*	*Detach[mt]*	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*
1[st] Reg[t]	0	1	1	1	17		0	0	0	6
2[nd] do	0	0	1	1	7		0	1	0	2
7[th] do	0	0	1	1	9	*Capt*	1	0	1	3
10[th] do	0	0	2	0	9	1	0	0	0	3
	0:	1:	5:	3:	42	1:	1:	1:	1:	14

Inspectors Orders, May ye 3[d], 1778.

The Drums in Camp are only to beat the long Rolls, Fantoons and beat the same time througout whole line, the Drummers are to be ready a quater of an hour before the time; & as soon as these on the Right begin to beat, all the others are to take it up; the Drummers are to exercise at an appointed time; as for instance in the morning from 6 to 7 o'clock; out of that time no Drummer is to beat except for the usual beatings.

Head Quarters Valley Forge, May 4, 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . . Wayne.
Field Officers . . Col. Martin Major Haget
Brigade Major . . . . . Haskell
Inspector from Gen[l] Patterson's Brigade.

The sub and brigade Inspectors are to be pointedly exacting pursuing the Directions of the Inspector Gen[l], that the strictest uniformity may be observed throughout the whole Army, they are not to practice a single manoever, nor any method different from it; any alteration or invitation will again plunge the army into that contrariety and for confusion from which it is endeavouring to immerge; the hours for exercise are also to be exactly attended to by each Brigade, for which purpose, and that

no difference may arise on account of watches, proper attention must be paid to the order of the first of April last, for regulating them by that of the Adju^{t} Gen^{ls}.

The Commd^{r}-in-Chief requests that the Brigadiers and officers commanding Brigades, will see that this order is strictly complyed with. Hoping we will not slip the Golden Opportunity which now presents itself of Decipling the Army, and that each Brigade will vie with each other in arising at the highest, and earlyest pitch of Excellence, for the sake of decency, his Excellency hopes that the Comm^{dg} officers of Reg^{ts} will order their necessaries to be hid, with boughs or hurdels, the last tho most troublesome at first, will always serve as they can be easily removed. Stricter attention is required to the Order of ye 15th of March respecting hides.

B: O:

Adjutant of the Day tomorrow from the 2^{d} Reg^{t}.

		C.	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*	*R: F: Sub:*	*S:*	*P.*
1st	Reg^{t}		0	1	1	17			2	1	1	20
2nd	do		1	1	1	7			1		0	8
7th	do			1	1	10		1	1		0	10
10th	do			1	1	10	1	0	1		1	10

Head Quarters Valley Forge, May 5th, 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . . . Poor
Field Officers . . Col. Nagle, Major Gilman
Brigade Major . . . . . Seely
Inspector from Genl Weeden's Brigade.
For Detachment L^{t}. Col. De Hart.

Aaron Ogden Esq. is appointed Brigade Major to Gen^{l} Maxwells Brigade and is to be obeyed and respected accordingly.

Mr. Davis Bevan is appointed by the Quatermaster Gen^{l} to superintend the Artificers and to deliver out planks etc in future therefore when Boards or planks are wanting or Artificers are necessary to do any job in the

Army, an order signed by a Gen[l] Officer, Officers Comm[dg] Brigades, or Brigade Quatermasters, and directed to Mr. Bevan at Sullivan's Bridge will be duly attended to.

If there are any Comb makers in the Army, the Brigadiers and Officers Commanding Brigades are desired to make a return of them to the Adju[t] Gen[l].

A Flag goes into Philadelphia next Fryday—the Commis[ry] of Prisoners lives at David Havards next door to the Marquis De la Fiate's Quaters.

At a Gen[l] Court Martial whereof Major Tylers was president, Gulf Mill May ye 2[d] 1778, Jno Morrel, a soldier in Col. Henry Jackson's Reg[t] tryed for Deserting from his post while on centry and unanimously found guilty of a breach of Article the first Sect. the 5[th] and Article 6[rh] Sect 13[th] of the of War, and unanimously sentenced to be hung by his neck, until he is Dead.

At a Brigade Court Martial whereof Co[l] Bicker was president, April the 24[th] 1778, Thos Hartnet a soldier in the 2[d] Penn[ya] Reg[t] tryed for Desertion to the enemy found Guilty, and unanimously sentenced to be hung by the neck until he be Dead. The Commander-in-Chief approves of the foregoing sentences. The Gen[l] Court Martial whereof Major Tyler was president is dissolved.

B: O:

The Brigade Gen[l] Court Martial whereof Co[l] Bicker was president, is dissolved. Adjutant of the Day tomorrow from the 1st Reg[t].

		Guard.					*Detail*									
							W: C:					*R: F:*				
		C.	*Sub.*	*S:*	*C.*	*P.*	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*		*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*	
1[st]	Reg[t]	0	0	1	1	16	0	0	0	3			1	1	20	
2[nd]	do			1	1	7				1			1	0	8	
7[th]	do			1	1	11				2		1	0	0	11	
10[th]	do			2	1	10		1	1	1					9	
		0:	0:	5:	4:	44		1:	1:	7		1:	2:	1:	48	

Alarm post Guard, 1 man

HEAD QUATERS, May 5th, 1778.

After Orders.

It having pleased the Almighty Ruler of the Universe propiciously to Defend the Cause of the United American States and finally by raising up a powerful friend among the princes of the Earth to establish our liberty and Independence upon lasting foundations, it becomes us to set apart a day for Gratefulness acknowledging Divine Goodness & celebrating the importent event, to benign Interposition. The several Brigades are to be assembled for this purpose at 9 o'clock tomorrow morning, when their Chaplains will communicate the inteligence contained in the POSTCRIPT of the PENNS^A GAZETTE of the 2^nd^ ins^t^ and offer up a thanksgiving & deliver a Discourse suitable to the occasion at ½ after 10 o'clock a Cannon will be fired which is to be a signal for the Men to be under Arms the Brigade Inspectors will then inspect their dress and Arms from the Battalions according to the instructions given them and announce the Commd^r^ Officers of Brigades the Battalions are formed. The Brigadiers and Commandants will then appoint the field Officers to comm^d^ the Battalions, after which each Battalion will be ordered to Ground their Arms; at ½ after 11 o'clock a second Cannon will be fired, a signal for the march, upon which the several Brigades will begin their march, by wheeling to the Right, by plattoons, & proceed by the nearest way to the left of their Guard, in the new position, this will be pointed out by the Brigade Inspectors; a third signal will be given upon which there will be discharged 13 Cannon; when the 13th has fired, a running fire of the Infantry will begin on the Right of Woodford's and continue through the whole front line. It will then be taken up on the left of the 2^d^ line & continue to the Right. Upon a signal given, the whole Army will Huzza Long live the King of France; the Artillery then begin again, and fire 13 rounds; this will be succeeded by a 2^d^ discharge of the Musquetry, in running

fire, Huzzas and Long live the friendly European powers, then the last discharge of 13 pieces of Artillery will be given, followed by a gen[l] running fire, and Huzzas to the American States; there will be no exercise in the morning, the Guards of the Day will not be relieved till after the Fuge of Joy, when the Brigade Majors will march them out to the Grand parade the Adj[ts] then will tell off their Battalions, in eight platoons & the Command'g officers will reconduct them to their Camps marching by the left. Major Gen[l] Lord Stirling will command on the Right, the Marquis De la Fiatte on the Left, and Baron De Kalb, the 2[d] line; each Major Gen[l] will conduct the 1st Brigade of his command to its Ground, the other Brigades will be conducted by their Comm[dg] officers in separate columns; the post of each Brigade will be pointed out by the Baron Steuben's aids. Major Walker will attend Lord Stirling. Major De Pon Zonzo [Du Ponceau], the Marquis De la Fiatte; and Capt. Linfaieth the Baron De Kalb, the line is to be formed well with the interval of a foot between the files, each man is to have a gill of Rum; the Quatermasters of the several Brigades is to apply to the Adju[t] Gen[l] for an order on the Commissary of Military Stores for the number of Blank Cartridges that may be wanted.

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE, May 6[th], 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . . McIntosh.
Field Officers Lt Col Mabayler & Major Ellison,
Brigade Major . . . . . Marshall.
Inspector from Gen[l] Weeden's Brigade.

Brigade O.

Adj' of the Day tomorrow from the 7[th] Regt.

Detail for Guard etc.

		C.	*Sub.*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*		*Sub:*	*S:*	*P:*
1[st]	Reg[t]	0	0	1	1	16			1	20
2[nd]	do	0	0	1	1	7	*R: F:*		1	8
7[th]	do			1	1	11		1	0	11
10[th]	do			2	1	7				9

(To be continued)

COLONEL ROBERT LETTIS HOOPER

Deputy Quarter Master General in the Continental Army and Vice President of New Jersey.

BY CHARLES HENRY HART.

THIS monograph is the result of a certain amount of inquisitiveness to learn who was "Mr. Hooper," mentioned in a letter written by Governor William Franklin, in 1771, that the writer was editing[1] and of the fact that after identifying "Mr. Hooper" as Robert Lettis Hooper, Jr., no biographical notice of him could be found so that the only way to get one was by writing it. Hooper's career has been very difficult to trace, owing to there having been three, if not four, generations bearing the same name, and also from his having lived part of his life in New Jersey and part in Pennsylvania, with lightning changes from one to the other. Nevertheless, it seems odd that it has never been attempted before and that a man, who was so prominently before the people at such an important epoch in the country's history, should not sooner have had the events of his life preserved in a consecutive form, especially when there is ample material at hand. This apparent neglect may arise from the fact that, as we shall see, he left no descendants. In the Historical Society of Pennsylvania alone, there are at least sixty autograph letters from him covering his career between 1758 and 1793, the period of his business and public activities and his land speculations. Yet so little is accurately known of him that his middle name is almost uniformly printed "Lettice."

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[1] Letters from William Franklin to William Strahan, PENNA. MAG. OF HIST. AND BIOG., Vol. XXXV, p. 450.

The first of the family that we know was "Major Daniel Hooper of the Parish of Christ Church and Island of Barbadoes," whose will dated October 1, "in the twelfth year of his Majesty's Reign," which was 1700, recites that the testator "being now suddenly designed off the Island," makes this his last Will and Testament etc. It seems that the precaution was a wise one, for a few months later, on February 12, 1700–01, his will was proved in Barbadoes,[2] while ten days later, an "Inventory of the estate of Daniel Hooper of Barbadoes," was filed in New York by Captain Jeremiah Tottill as administrator.[3] From the Will being proved in Barbadoes on Feby 12, and an Inventory, being filed in New York, as early as Feby. 22, it seems quite certain that Major Daniel Hooper died here on his visit, that his will was proved at his place of domicile and that Capt. Tottill was Administrator of the effects he left in this country.

In his Will he names four daughters: Mary, Elizabeth, Anne and Elinor and four sons: Daniel, the eldest; Robert Lettis, the second; and John and William, appoints Daniel and Robert Lettis, Executors, and adds "by way of caution and advice to my aforesaid four sons and it is my desire that so long as with convenience they may then do continue unanimous and united as well in heart as in Estate and interest, well knowing how great a strong thing and support they will be to each other when possibly separating may produce other efforts."

Daniel Hooper had evidently been in New Jersey at an earlier day, for we find that he was a member of the Governor's Council September 12, 1679, when he was commissioned one of the Justices of the Peace for the County Court at Elizabethtown and Newark, and he was again a member of the Governor's Council August 14, 1683.[4]

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[2] A certified copy of the will made April 19, 1722, is on record at Trenton, in Deed Book B B, p. 363.

[3] Collection of New York Historical Society, Abstract of Wills, p. 377.

[4] New Jersey Archives Vol. xiii, p. 99 and Vol. xxi, p. 43.

Later he returned to Barbadoes, for on February 27, 1692–3, a Patent issued to "Daniel Hooper of the Island of Barbadoes, Merchant, for 648 acres in Somerset county, bounded Northeast by the Rareton river, South east by the commons, South west by the commons and the river and Northwest by the South branch of said river."[5] He seems to have endeavored to evade the payment of "dutys" on a cargo of "Rumm," from Barbadoes by ordering it to Perth Amboy instead of to New York, in which he acted on Cartaret's declaration, that "all vessels shall be free that come and trade with East Jersey," which, however, clashed with the orders of Andros "putting a duty of 20/ per Hogshead on Rumm." Accordingly "the 'Ketch' was taken up to New York and made to enter there and pay the Dutys before she could carry her Rumm to New Jersey" and this case was one of the reasons given by the Attorney General, in an opinion to Earl of Bellomont, June 30, 1698, "why Perth Amboy should not be a Free Port."[6]

Whether Robert Lettis Hooper, the first of the name in this country, came with his father on his last voyage to America or was here previously I cannot tell, but on August 16, 1701, he took out a marriage license in New York to marry Mrs. Sarah Graham.[7] Later he was the progenitor of the Sugar Trust, by having an Act passed by the Assembly of New York giving him *the exclusive right* to refine sugar, which was repealed in 1727, because he "neglected entirely the said manufacture."[8] The cause of this neglect was doubtless his removal to Perth Amboy, New Jersey, whence he was nominated by the Governor, January 2, 1724–5, Chief Justice of the colony, taking his seat at Burlington, March 30, 1725, although his commission, in the New Jersey Historical Society, is not dated

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[5] New Jersey Archives, Vol. xxi, p. 193.
[6] *Ibid.* Vol. ii, p. 232.
[7] New York Genealogical and Biographical Record, Vol. ii, p. 142.
[8] New York Colonial Documents, Vol. v, p. 847.

until February 29, 1727–8. He held office, with a short intermission, until his death early in 1738–9, when his remains were taken to New York for interment.[9] He does not appear to have been bred to the law, which, strange as it seems to us to-day, was not a pre-requisite for high judicial office in the provinces in colonial days. He was a member of the Assembly of New Jersey from Somerset county from 1721 to 1727, and in 1723, was appointed one of the commissioners to sign the first regular issue of New Jersey paper-money, which bears date March 25, 1724. He was Warden of St. Peter's Episcopal Church, Perth Amboy, in 1726 and vestryman from 1734 to 1738. The early records show that he was commonly called "Collonel," as also that he was a member of the Governor's Council in 1735, his appointment to which was induced by his being "truly affectionate to his Majesty and the Royal Family, and in very high esteem and reputation in his country."[10] The will of the Chief Justice, dated January 27, 1738 and proved February 19, 1738–9, mentions wife Sarah and children Robert Lettis, James and Isabella.[11]

Robert Lettis Hooper Junior, as he was known until the death of his father, seems to have been interested in mills and in lands. In June, 1725, he advertises, as "Junior," from his plantation at Rocky Hill, Somerset county, N. J., and in the same way in August, 1731, when he offers land for sale. On April 14, 1738, shortly after his father's death he was chosen, without the "Junior," one of the Council of New Jersey and on April 19, 1740, was appointed to secure enlistments in Somerset county. March 28, 1749, he was made one of "His Majesties Justices of the Peace and Clerk of the Peace for Somerset county," and in June, 1751, was one of the Managers of the Trenton Lottery. In the *Pennsylvania Journal* for August 21,

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[9] Field's Provincial Courts of New Jersey, p. 126.

[10] New York Colonial Documents, Vol. vi, p. 25.

[11] Isabella married Philip Kearny and was the ancestress of General Philip Kearny, of the war of Secession.

1758, Robert Lettis Hooper advertises certain property for sale upon which he lives and which he will show to purchasers, or his sons, Robert Lettis Hooper, Jr., and Jacob Roeters Hooper, living at his Mills, opposite to Trenton, will do the same in his absence. A similar advertisement is inserted July 12, 1759. These are the first mentions we find of Robert Lettis Hooper, the third of the name, and the advertisements show him to have been a son of Robert Lettis Hooper the second, who died April 20, 1785[12] in his seventy-seventh year and was buried in the Episcopal grounds in Trenton.[13]

In the *Pennsylvania Journal* for December 10, 1761, there is an advertisement of the dissolution of the partnership existing between Robert and Jacob Hooper, and on December 23, 1762, Robert Lettis Hooper, Jr., advertises good old Madeira "at his store in Water Street, three doors above Chestnut." His business difficulties caused him to appeal to the Assembly of Pennsylvania and he was "granted the enlargement of his person forever against all debts contracted before his surrender February 14, 1764"; while on May 4, 1768, a bill was presented to the Provincial Council of New Jersey for his relief. This "enlargement of his person," he did not feel, however, acquitted him of his debts, but felt as an honorable man they should be paid, so we find a letter from him to Samuel Howe, Burlington, N. J., dated Philadelphia, August 28, 1772,[14] offering to make conveyance of 1000 acres in Bedford county, Pa., in settlement of a debt due "at the time of my surrender . . . It is my desire to do justice to all my Creditors and at present this is the only offer I can make you." He then adds character-

[12] Letter from Robert Lettis Hooper to James Wilson from Belleville, April 22, 1785, in the Wilson Papers, Hist. Soc. of Penna. This is his first letter without "Junr" and it is rather amusing to find a letter from him in the same collection, of Dec. 28, 1785, where from force of habit he has added "Junr." after his name and then drawn his pen through it.

[13] Hall's Hist. of Presb. Church in Trenton, p. 248.

[14] Gratz Collection, Hist. Soc. of Penna.

istically, "You may depend on the titles being indisputable and the land good." Before this he had, in June, 1765, visited Sir William Johnson to look over his land with a view to making a settlement upon it and later crossed the Alleghenies and made surveys of the land of the proposed new colony for the Whartons and George Croghan, which led to his employment by Governor William Franklin in April, 1771, to give an account of the country he had gone out to survey at Fort Pitt. From his very intelligent and informing letter of May 22, 1771[15] it would appear that his home then was in Northampton county, Pa., for he speaks of "Three germans that came up with me from Northampton county in Pennsylvania." At this time Hooper was in correspondence with Sir William Johnson, concerning his journey to Fort Pitt and was an applicant for the post of Surveyor-General of the new proposed colony when it should be erected. He was back again in Philadelphia in March, 1772[16] but the next Fall was again at Fort Pitt, whence he wrote to William Franklin, September 15, 1772.[17] In the same collection is a copy of a deed from William Franklin to Robert Lettis Hooper, Jr., "of Trenton," dated April 19, 1774, showing that he had gone back to New Jersey; but on August 13, 1775, he wrote from Philadelphia the following letter to Capt. John Lowdon,[18] bubbling with patriotism, which is the first view we have of him in the Revolution.

[15] *Vide* Letters from William Franklin to William Strahan, PENNA. MAG. OF HIST. AND BIOG., Vol. XXXV, p. 450.

[16] *Vide* Letter from Hooper to William Franklin in Amer. Phil. Soc. of this date.

[17] Etting Collection, Hist. Soc. of Penna.

[18] John Lowdon's commission dated June 25, 1775 "to be a captain of a company of riflemen in the battalion commanded by Colonel William Thompson in the Army of the United Colonies," is printed in full in Penna. Arch. Ser. V., Vol. ii, pp. 3–4. His company was sworn in June 29th and on July 8th was on its way to Cambridge, Mass. On January 1, 1776, the rifle battalion became the First Regiment Continental Army. Capt. Lowdon when he raised his company, lived near the present town of Mifflinburg, Union Co., Pa., where he died in Feby., 1798, in his sixty-eighth year. Joseph Shippen, Jr., writes to the governor of Penna. from Lancaster

PHILADELPHIA August 13, 1775.

DEAR SIR

We hope this letter will find you safe at the head of your Company, acting in Defence & support of American Liberty—a glorious cause, which must stimulate the Breast of every honest, virtuous American and force him, with undaunted Courage & unabated vigour, to oppose those Ministerial Robers. We hope the Contest will be ended where it began, and that the effusion of blood may be providentially prevented, but at the same time, we hope to see American Liberty perminantly established or to have the honor, ere long, to serve in her righteous Cause, & we are well convinced that these sentiments prevail throughout this Province. You can't conceive what a Martial Spirit prevails here & in what order we are. Our Battalions with the Light Infantry Companys are very expert in all the manœuvres & are generally well furnished with Arms. Several Companys of Riflemen are formed in this City and the adjacent Countys who are become expert in shooting: besides we have 16 Row Galleys with Latteen Sails now building—some of them are allready Rigged & Man'd. These Galleys are rowed with from 24 to 30 Oars & carry each one Gun from 18 to 32 pounds, besides swivel Guns Fore & Aft. We are told by experienced Men that these Galleys will prevent any Ships of War from coming up this River. All the Coast to Georgia is alarmed and prepared to oppose our unnatural enemies. Where then can these English Bastards, those servile engines of Ministerial power go to steel a few Sheep? God and Nature has prescribed their Bounds. They can't delluge our Lands nor float their Wooden Batterys beyond the bounds prescribed, nor dare they to penetrate so, as from afar, to view those high topt Mountains which

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April 19, 1756, recommending the appointment of "Mr. John Lowden living at Susquehannah" as Ensign in his company in Colonel Clapham's regiment. He says "He is a young gentleman of good sense, great activity and spirit."

seperates the lower plains from *our Canaan* and from whence, should their folly or madness prompt them to attempt it, could come forth our Thousands and tens of thousands with Guygantick strides to wash the plains with the blood of those degenerate invaders of the libertys of Mankind.

We, in conjunction with many others, presented a Memorial to Congress,[19] representing the threatned encroachments of the Connecticut Invaders of our Province. It was well received and the Connecticut Delegates & those of this province were desired to write to their people respectively & inclosed I send you a copy of the Connecticut Letters to Wyoming. Stansbury[20] has it in charge and it seems to be all that that Honorable Body could do in the affair.

Our partiality for the Rifle Battalion is so great that we are very anxious to hear of their having distinguished themselves in some great enterprize. This partiality is natural and allowable, when from our personal acquaintance with many of their Commanders we can, and do, with martial pride, celebrate their distinguished abilitys as Rifleman & Soldiers.

We are with great Esteem

Dear Sir

Your most humble Servts

ROBERT LETTIS HOOPER, JUNR.

REUBEN HAINES.[21]

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[19] The petition was presented to Congress July 31, 1775 and the subject was constantly before Congress during the rest of the year. *Vide* Journals of Congress.

[20] One Stansbury was appointed by Congress December 22, 1775 a Lieutenant in the Navy, he being third on the list which was headed by John Paul Jones.

[21] *Reuben Haines* was a Quaker Brewer and a friend and neighbour of Doctor Franklin. Although he signed this letter it is all in the handwriting of Hooper. It belongs to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

P. S. Present our Compliments to Mr. Lukins[22] & Mr. North.[23] Mr. Musser[24] desires his compliments to you & them.

August 17th 1775

Since the date of this letter Hawkins Boon[25] has been down and says the Connecticut people have not attempted any incroachments lately & from circumstances we have little reason to apprehend they will.

Subsequently Hooper settled in Northampton county, Pa., which became the scene of his activities in the revolutionary struggle.

He became Deputy Quarter Master General; one of the three Superintendents of "Magazines to be laid up for the Continental army," his department covering Northampton, Bucks, Berks and Philadelphia counties in Pennsylvania and Sussex county in New Jersey; Assistant Commissary of Purchases and Deputy Commissary of

[22] *Jesse Lukens* was a son of Surveyor-General John Lukens and went as a volunteer with Captain Matthew Smith's Lancaster company to Cambridge. He returned just in time to join Plunket's expedition against the Connecticut settlers at Wyoming, upon which he was mortally wounded Christmas day, 1775, and died a few days afterwards.

[23] *Caleb North* (1753–1840) of Chester Co., Pa. Captain in the 4th Battalion who was sent from Cambridge to join Arnold's Canada Expedition and subsequently became Lieut. Colonel of the 2nd Penna. Line with which he was at York Town and after the surrender was entrusted with the charge of the British prisoners on their march to Lancaster, Pa. He was President of the Pennsylvania State Society of the Cincinnati from 1828 until his death, when he was the last survivor of the Field Officers of the Pennsylvania Line.

[24] *John Musser*, a prominent Land agent in Lancaster, Pa., and speculator in British goods.

[25] *Hawkins Boon* was commissioned 2nd Lieutenant of the 4th Company of the 2nd Battalion of Northumberland Militia, January 24, 1776, and on October 4, 1776, Captain in Colonel Josiah Harmer's 6th Penna. Regiment; was subsequently transferred to the 12th and commanded the 7th Company in Morgan's Corps of Partisans. He was killed and scalped July 30, 1779, after the surrender of Freeland Fort, near Northumberland, Pa., to the British, he being off on a scout and not aware of the capitulation. *Vide* Journals of Chaplain Rogers and of Major Norris in Sullivan's Expedition, in one of which it is stated, that 40 men were killed with him and the other 14, both contemporary accounts. Which one is true?

Transportation for Sullivan's army against the Six Nations. Commissions were issued to him April 2, 1778, and February 23, 1779, which are both long after his appointment and service, a not at all uncommon occurrence in the army and navy of that period, often occasioning much dissention and many questions affecting precedence and rank. All of these offices show that Hooper was a man of consideration and had the confidence of the Commander-in-Chief.

His earliest official military act of which we have record was when he writes to Owen Biddle of the Board of War from

EASTON April 9th 1777[26]

SIR,

In obedience to your orders of the 3 Inst. I have sent Expresses thro' the greatest part of this County to procure Teams, and have the pleasure to inform you that I have been pretty successfull, as you will see by this inclosed Return, which is but a part of the number engaged, for all my Expresses are not yet returned.—I have reason to believe there is now gone, and getting ready to go about eighty Teams from County, and if your Honorable Board thinks more Teams will be wanted, I shall be glad to receive your *positive* Commands.

I found it absolutely necessary to promise the people that they might expect to draw Rations, for they were backward in going, fearing it would be impossible for them to supply themselves.

The people go in full expectation of my paying them on their Return to this County, if it is proper I am very willing to undertake that trouble.

I am with great respect
Sir, your humᵉ Servᵗ
ROBᵀ L. HOOPER, JR.

This official letter was accompanied by the following private personal one to Biddle of even date.

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[26] PENNA. MAG. OF HIST. AND BIOG., Vol. XXV, p. 390.

SAUCON April 9th 1777[27]

DEAR OWEN,

Tell me by a line if I have acted right—I live about 5 Miles South of Bethlehem near the Great Road & it is best to order your Express (if you send) directly to me—Tell me all the news, and what you think of the talked of Invasion—Has France actually lent us 5 Million of Livers? in haist I am

Yours R. L. HOOPER, JR,

It will be best for me
to pay the people.

From its opening "Tell me by a line if I have acted right," it is plain that Hooper was in his novitiate as Deputy Quarter Master General and in doubt as to the scope of his authority, and it also shows that while he dates his official letters from Easton as his head-quarters, he did not actually live in the town, but that his home was at "Saucon," "about five miles south of Bethlehem."

Robert Lettis Hooper's name first occurs in the Journals of Congress, July 9, 1777, when a letter from him was read and referred to the Board of War. The following day it was "Ordered that 10,000 dollars be paid to Colonel Robert Lettis Hooper or his order on account of flour and beef purchased for the use of the army." He objected to the form of the Oath of Allegiance to the state and refused to subscribe to it, and was charged with favoring the Tories and oppressing the patriots in the impressment of "Waggons and Teams," which involved him in many contentions. These charges were taken up by the Council of Safety which wrote to President Wharton.[28]

LANCASTER 18, October 1777

* * * * "We cannot forbear to hint that a more careful attention to the appointment of officers would be

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[27] PENNA. MAG. OF HIST. AND BIOG., Vol. xxv, p. 390.

[28] Penna. Archives, Vol. v., p. 684.

highly beneficial. These men in several instances by oppressing our Fiiends and excepting our secret Enemies from public Burdens, that of Waggons being impressed in particular, have but two successfully contributed to impress people with the notion that it is most for their Interest to be Tories. In the Quartermaster's Line we shall mention one or two among those we have heard Complaints—Mr. Robert Lettis Hooper of Easton and Mr John Biddle of Reading"

That Hooper was awake to these charges against him and ready to forestall them is shown by the following letter[29] to "His Excellency Thomas Wharton Esq^{r}."

EASTON October 20th: 1777

Sir,

I received your Excellency's Letter of the 8th Instant, and have the pleasure to inform you, that I can hire in this County and in Sussex County in New Jersey, as many Teams as are from time to time necessary to answer the purposes in my Department, without being troublesome to your Excellency or the Majestrates of this County. I have never impressed any Teams but when the exigency required their being provided with the utmost dispatch, and then those only who refused to serve and were unfriendly to our Cause

I have in almost every exegency called on the Majestrates for their Assistance, and will continue so to do

I am, sir, Your Excellency's
most hum^{l} servant
Rob^{t} Lettis Hooper, jun
Depu^{ty}. Qu^{r} M Gen^{l}.

In consequence of the information from the Council, President Wharton advised the Board of War, which called forth the following reply.[30]

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[29] Collection of William Nelson, Paterson, N. J.

[30] Penna. Archives, Vol. v, p. 756.

Sir— War Office November 8, 1777

I am directed to inform you that the Board have taken into their consideration your Letter relating to the abuses alledged to be committed in the Quarter Master Generals Department & particularly the charges made against Col Hooper & Col Biddle & they are of opinion that an immediate inquiry should be made into matters wherein the public Interest is so materially concerned. I am to request your Excellency will please favour the Board with the Evidence on which these charges are founded & especially the Testimony against Col Hooper, which they wish to have at an early Day as he, in consequence of the Charge against him being transmitted to General Mifflin, has attended the Board & called upon them for an Enquiry into his conduct.

I have the Honour to be etc.

Rich. Peters

Secy.

A month later Robert Levers, who seems to have been a secret agent for the state, wrote to Timothy Matlack[31] from

Easton December 8, 1777.

"Agreeably to the Directions I received, when last at Lancaster from the Supreme Executive Council, that on my return home, I should make Enquiry whether or not Mr. Henry Vanfleck had certainly procured a Pass from Col. Hooper, at the time he, Mr. Vanfleck passed the Delaware, about three weeks ago. I have made the necessary Enquiry, and in consequence thereof, beg leave to refer Council to the enclose affidavits. * * * With respect to Mr Hooper's discouraging the Inhabitants of this county to take the oath of allegiance, it has been too general and too glaring to deny; and with respect to Passes, Evidence thereof is before Council. But as to his Partiality in pressing Waggons to the distress of Whiggs and the Relief of Tories, I believe the Information is ill founded."

[31] Penna. Archives, Vol. vi, p. 77.

It is plain however, from an Order[32] promulgated by the Board of War, on January 22, 1778, while these charges were still pending against Hooper, that they were not regarded as very serious, owing doubtless to Levers' report that the charge of oppression was unfounded.

"Ordered That Colonel Robert Lettis Hooper D. Q. Master General exercise the same Powers in the hiring or impressing Teams he has heretofore done under the orders of His Excellency General Washington or other his Superior Officer, any Regulation or Direction from any Person not acting in Virtue of the orders or the Powers vested in His Excellency within the Limits therein mentioned, *notwithstanding.*"

Nevertheless the Council, from Lancaster, on February 7, 1778, advises the Delegates in Congress in regard to the charges against Hooper based upon the letter from Levers and forward the proofs against him.[33] It would appear however, by the following letter from President Wharton to Thomas McKean that Hooper, not getting the satisfaction he required from the authorities officially, took the matter into his own hands and got some personal, if unofficial satisfaction.[34]

Dear Sir:— LANCASTER Feb. 15, 1778

"An incident at Reading some days past disturbs me. Mr. Sergeant[35] being then as Attorney General at the Quarter Sessions was assaulted and beaten by Robert

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[32] Penna. Archives, Vol. vi, p. 199.

[33] *Ibid.* Vol. vi, p. 242.

[34] *Ibid.* Vol. vi, p. 266.

[35] *Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant* (1746–1793) was a grandson of Jonathan Dickinson, first President of Princeton college where he was graduated. He studied law in New Jersey and in July, 1777, became Attorney-General of Pennsylvania, which he held until 1780. He was active in the relief of the sufferers from yellow fever in Philadelphia and fell a victim to the pestilence.

Lettis Hooper Esquire on account of some information the former gave in the late Council of Safety of this State. * * Many and loud complaints were I understood made to assembly last fall against Mr Hooper & others. * * * Congress desired evidence as to the first. Some affidavits were taken. One was drawn for Mr. Sergeant to attest; it related to the Countenance given by Mr. Hooper in furnishing a letter to one Leonard, an avowed Jersey Tory to pass thro' Pennsilvania. It happened that Mr. Sergeant left town without finishing this affidavit. Another, drawn for Mr. Arndt,[36] of Northampton, was left in the same state. When Mr. Arndt was travelling homeward he was threatened & insulted by Hooper & threats were also liberally made openly by him, against Mr. Sergeant. * * * When he asked an office of Council, I confess that upon 20 yrs general knowledge of him, I preferred another. * * By a glare of evidence it appears that Mr. H. not only refused to take & subscribe an Oath of Allegiance, ordered by law, but that he influenced others to decline it. This conduct brought him very naturally under the suspicion of being a Tory; for tho' his connection with the army might perhaps excuse him from the test, yet wherefore he should, if a Whig, set himself against this necessary mode of discrimination between Friends & Foes, is hard to be accounted for. * * I am glad however, as I hear that Mr. H. resents the suspicion, that Congress have at length prescribed a form for their officers that will enable him to yield a Testimony of this nature without any scruple.* * But to return. The omission of taking these attestations

[36] *John Arndt* was a Justice of the Peace for Northampton county and as such was authorized by President Wharton to collect forage etc., which he reported as very difficult to do "as Col. Hooper in the quarter master's department allows to pay * * * prices * * * higher than wee are authorized to pay by law." (Pa. Arch., Vol. VI, p. 336.) Hooper with his good free English blood knew that the soldiers had to be fed at any price, law or no law, but the close fisted Teuton would let them starve rather than run the risk of an overcharge; so it is plain there was bad blood between the two men leading up to the altercation.

delayed the sending the proof to York. Mr. Sergeant did not come back till lately when he declined to attest to the writing he had drawn up. * * At Reading Mr. Hooper met him & acted as above. * * Mr. Sergeant was the smallest, Mr. Arndt the oldest & most infirm of the late Council of Safety. They were very unequal to H. in power of body & his advantage over them was great."

The closing paragraph gives a charming bit of local color to the portraiture of the participants that is unusual in the writings of those busy times. The following day a letter from the Board of War, with one from Hooper, was laid before Congress and referred to Thomas McKean, Abraham Clark and Nathaniel Scudder. On February 17th, this Committee brought in a very severe report which was taken into consideration and thereupon the following resolution was passed.

Whereas by the resolution of the 14 instant the Commissioners appointed by the State of Pennsylvania were authorized and directed to purchase and store in magazine, 30,000, barrels of flour, on the east side of the Susquehanna, & by a letter, since laid before Congress, from R. L. Hooper, Nathaniel Falconer and Jonathan Mifflin Jun. three of the Superintendents appointed by the Board of War, in pursuance of a resolve of the 15 January last, it appears that the said Superintendants are making contracts for executing the business entrusted with the said Commissioners, contrary to the intentions of Congress expressed in these said resolutions; and whereas, it also appears by the aforesaid letter, that the above named Superintendants, without any authority, in direct violation of the Laws of Pennsylvania and contrary to the instructions given by the Board of War, have presumed to fix and ascertain the prices of several other articles wanted in the Army, much higher than fixed by law in the State, directing the quarter masters to govern themselves by such illegal rates: therefore,

Resolved that the Board of War be directed immediately to recal and suspend the said R L Hooper, Nathaniel Falconer and Jonathan Mifflin Jr. who are required to lay before Congress their proceedings and accounts.

Less than a week before this action in Congress, Hooper promulgated the following carefully prepared and thoroughly business like circular letter[37] bearing directly on the subject at issue.

READING Feb: 12th: 1778

Sir

As you are appointed by the superintendants for forming magazines of Provisions for the army, to purchase wheat & manufacture it into flour. I am directed by Major Gl. Mifflin Q. M. G. to request you will also purchase all the Rye Spelts Indian corn & oats you can at the following rates vizt. Rye @ 12s. ℔ bushl. Spelts & oats at 7s. 6d. ℔ bushel & Indian corn at 9s. ℔ bushel.

You must grind all the Rye Indian corn & spelts you purchase into Horse feed which when ground you must pack into flour barrels & secure in the way you are directed by the Superintendants in the 4th. Article of their Instructions.

You shall be paid four pounds ℔ hundred bushells for grinding packing & delivering out, & two pence ℔ bushel on all the oats you purchase with a reasonable allowance for storeage and expences.

Capt. N. Falconer superintendant of the district in which you reside will furnish you with money when & as often as it will be necessary. And on every monday you must make a return to him of all the grain you have purchased & of the quantity you have issued on orders.

In issuing you must be directed by the 7th. Article of your Instructions from the superintendants.

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[37] In Collection of William Nelson, Paterson, N. J.

From those persons who refuse to thresh out their grain & to deliver to you so much of it as they can reasonably spare you are to seize it in the straw, and to be directed by the first article of your Instructions from the Superintendants.

You must collect all the grain you can, & you must not delay any time in doing it.

I am Sir Your h. s.
Robt. Lettis Hooper
Dep^{y}. Q^{r}. M Gen^{l}

On February 21, a letter from General Washington, dated Valley Forge, February 15, 1778, to the three Superintendents concerning the distress of the army for meat and forage, was laid before Congress and read, while four days later President Wharton requested Congress to furnish him with sundry papers relative to the action of Congress on the 17th instant. Within a fortnight after the rebuke by Congress, Hooper cured the chief charge against him by subscribing to the new form of oath, which his former investigator Levers communicated to "Timothy Matlack Sec'y of the Comwlth of Penna."[38]

Easton, March 8, 1778

Sir;—

Herewith I send to you a Duplicate Certificate of Col. Hooper's having taken the Oaths agreeable to the Resolve of Congress.

I am, Sir, etc
Robert Levers

This whole business of refusing to take the old oath and taking the new one, although something of a matter of form, had also some substance to sustain it and the man, in Hooper's position, who maintained the courage of his convictions, is entitled to respect and consideration,

[38] Penna. Archives, Vol. vi, p. 344.

as showing a determined spirit to fight for what he thought was right, which after all was the keynote of the revolutionary war. His subscribing to the Oath evidently ended this tempest in a tea-pot, leaving only an echo behind, for on April 9, 1778, Congress ordered "That a Warrant issue on the Treasurer for $133,333.33 in favor of Robert Lettis Hooper Esq to answer an Order of the 3rd day of April Instant in his favor drawn by Major General Greene, Quarter-Master General, for the use of his Department, who is to be accountable."

The echo we find in a letter Hooper indited to Vice-President George Bryan of Pennsylvania.[39]

SIR. PHILA. Aug^{t} 31, 1778.

Permit me to address you on a subject which has for some time past given me much uneasyness, as from false representations made to the Honorable the Supreme Executive Council, that honorable Body have conceived me to be a dangerous person in the State violent and ungovernable. I cannot deny to you honourable Sir, that I have a very great contempt for Mr Sarjent and Mr Arndt as private Gentlemen. They have made several attempts to ruin my reputation as an Officer in the service of the States and have induced the honourable Council to exhibit charges against me. which Mr Sarjent & Mr Arndt could not support. This drew me into a personal Quarrell with them * * * and whilst I was warm with resentment against them I wrote a Letter to the Honble Governeur Morris, the particulars in Expression which Letter I dont well remember but believe, from information that they were generally ungentlemanly, and indecent. I hope Sir, you will believe, & that the Honourable Council will believe I have long had a great personal regard for the late Worthy President and you, that I have ever had reason to esteem those Gentlemen in Council with whom I have the honour to be acquainted as worthy Citizens and that

[39] Penna. Archives, 2nd Ser., Vol. iii, p. 236.

I am sorry to find the expressions in that letter may be construed to extend to you or them. Permit me then to request you will be pleased to assure Council that I never meant to reflect on their honour's honorable body.

As we said, we should hear further distant reverberations from the old charges and they come this time in one of Joe Reed's characteristic carping letters, to General Greene, in which he slandered every one from Mifflin down, so that Hooper could not of course escape, and which I only quote to show how prominently Hooper was in the public eye.[40]

PHILA. Nov. 5, 1778

"I confess I never was able to discern the Policy or Wisdom of continuing under you Men devoted at all Points to those who were the fixed & inveterate Enemies of the Department, who were quite in another Interest & who I firmly believe only remained in office to cover more effectually their own Conduct and embarrass and betray you. That there are some of these I suppose you cannot be ignorant, but the person whom I principally refer to is Col. Hooper & who I verily believe was brought in for the above Purposes. * * Col. Hooper not only harangued & exerted every Power, but the Clerks of office were employed in Writing Tickets and then march'd off with all their Dependants for the like purpose [of voting for members hostile to the authority of the State in which they were to act.] * * * * * I am inclined to think Congress will soon suspend Hooper for some practices not very honorable to himself or the Department."

Six weeks later we hear a little more of it when Congress, on December 22, 1778, received a report from the Committee to whom was referred sundry letters from Major General Mifflin, late Quarter Master General that "it appears probable that during the winter 1777 and the spring, 1778 when the army was in the suffering state

[40] N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll., Lee Papers, Vol. iii, p. 246.

before mentioned, sundry brigades of waggons in the publick service were sent to New Windsor, Newburgh Hartford, & Boston with flour and Iron on private accounts and brought back private property. That it also appears probably from said affidavits, that the said Flour & Iron had been taken as for public use at the regulated prices then fixed by law and that the Waggons during such Transportation were subsisted at the different posts on the publick forage. That Colonel Robert Lettis Hooper, then and now Deputy Quarter Master General appears to have been the principal Director of the said Waggons at that time."

For some reason the consideration of the subject was postponed, apparently indefinitely and only cropped up again the following spring when President Reed anew put his finger in the pie, by addressing a lengthy communication, on April 15, 1779, to Congress, covering a copy of a report of the Joint Committee of the Council of Penna. in which among other things it was said:

"2ndly For that complaint having been made by the Council of Safety of the great abuse of public Waggons by Robert Lettis Hooper Jr. Deputy Quarter Master General, to the Board of War in January & February 1778, that Board without giving any hearing to the Council to support their charge, heard Mr Hooper's story, supported by *ex-parte* affidavits and acquitted him, the Council then sitting at Lancaster & the complainants & witnesses being in Northampton, seventy miles off, unacquainted with any such proceeding.

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3rdly, The said Hooper presuming upon this favourable reception, fell upon the Attorney General of the State who had *ex officio* drawn up the said representation and beat him; but not satisfied with this wrote a letter to the Honble Governeur Morris Esquire, a Member of Congress on a committee at the Valley Forge, boasting of said

exploit, and that as he had horse-whipped the Attorney General, he proposed to go through with the Council and should not stop at the President of the State. Which letter was publickly shown by the said Mr. Morris to the Commander-in-Chief and others. But being demanded by the delegates of Pennsylvania as a high Insult to the State, was refused upon the allegation of its being a private letter."

No action was taken upon this appeal that I can find, but whether it was the source of future trouble for Hooper, or whether he got into fresh difficulties, certain it is that he was remanded for military Court Martial for some offence in which the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania took a hand, for it summoned witnesses to "attend the Tryal of Mr Hooper at Morristown;"[41] and it is doubtless to this body Hooper refers in a letter to his assistant Richard Backhouse, from Easton, February 23, 1780, advising him "My Tryal is put off till Doctor Shippen's is over," when he writes "We have nothing to fear from the malice of that base Junto."[42] At the very time of this letter Congress was considering changes in the Quarter Master's and Commissary departments of the army, and on July 15th, 1780, the same day that Washington, from Preakness, transmitted to Congress the findings of the Court Martial in Doctor Shippen's case, that body adopted "a new regulation for the Quarter Master's department" materially reducing the number of Deputy Quarter Masters General and abolishing after August 1st, "all posts without troops there stationed and in the Continental service" as burthensome and expensive. This action of course legislated Hooper out of office and naturally put an end to his proposed Tryal which then could have availed nothing. That this was the result we find by a notice in *The New Jersey Gazette* for October 11, 1780, from Robert Lettis Hooper, "*Late* D. Q. M. Gen."

[41] Penna. Colonial Records, Vol. 12, p. 250.

[42] Mss. in Historical Society of Penna.

Belleville October 10, 1780.

All persons who have any demands against the late Quarter Master General's Department for contracts performed and services done under the direction of the Subscriber for the Use of the United States, are requested to meet him in Easton, on the tenth day of November next, then and there to make a final settlement of their accounts, that he may be sooner enabled to present his accounts and to do that justice to the good people in his *late district* which the wisdom and justice of Congress have pointed out in their late resolutions

Robert L. Hooper
Late D. Q. M. Gen.

While this advertisement brings to a chronological conclusion the military career of Colonel Robert Lettis Hooper, Jr., we shall go back for some important incidents connected with it.

There are a number of letters from Hooper during the years 1778 and 1779, written chiefly from Easton to General Edward Hand, among the Hand Papers in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, some of which are of much interest, especially when he writes from

Newtown, Bucks Co. Jany. 15, 1779

"In Northampton County we have a very considerable Shoe Factory, the foundation of which I laid and the Board of War has in a great measure put this Factory and the disposal (or distribution) of the shoes under my care. * * * * On your order I will at any time send you from one to five hundred pairs and they are good. *Appropos* do you want a smart pair of Boots? * * * * This Factory I have told you of, produces near 1000 pairs of shoes a Month."

Hooper was one of the officers to whom Washington propounded a series of questions, in the Spring of 1779,

as to the best means of reaching the country of the Six Nations, and his answers will be found in the Washington Manuscripts in the Library of Congress.[43] As early as January, 1779, when this Western Expedition, commonly called Sullivan's Expedition, was in the air he wrote to Hand "I have my Eye to what you hint of an Expedition. I will have 50 good Saltpetered Tongues prepared for you and Mount my Hobby Horse and show you, on paper, all the Country between the Delaware and Susquehannah. I have an accurate survey of the Delaware." Four days later he writes, "I will soon furnish you with the Draughts of Delaware and Susquehannah"; while on March 15, he says, evidently in great glee over the honor, "Soon after you left me, I was called to Head Quarters[44] to give information on the subject you have often hinted to me and to require my assistance in the Map way. This part has been delayed by the essential part being in Philadelphia. I am anxious to compleat it & you shall have it when done."[45] These communications show that Hooper's knowledge as a surveyor had come into play in a more important matter and in a very different way, doubtless, from what he anticipated when he was running lines at Fort Pitt, although the advance rumblings of the coming revolution could be distinctly heard and felt at that time.

Before this, as later, he was specially entrusted with the care of British prisoners. On this point the following letter[46] addressed "To Elias Boudinot, Esquire Comy. Genl. of Prisoners at Reading," is both interesting and important.

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[43] Friedenwald's Calendar, p. 144.

[44] Anent Washington's Queries.

[45] Hooper's ability as a Map draughtsman is well exhibited in "A Draught of Mr. Joseph Wharton Junr's Land on the Waters of Tannaderra, Containing Fifteen Thousand and seventy-four Acres with allowance of Five p. cent etc. Surveyed in May and June 1770 p. Robert L. Hooper" in the Wilson Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[46] Collection of William Nelson, Paterson, N. J.

Dear Sir

Bethlehem Novr 29th 1777

I wrote you yesterday by Express, and sent you a List of all the Brittish prisoners in this County with Mr Dikins's[47] Bond & parole.

This will be delivered to you by Major Edmenson,[48] who has given me his parole to go to Little York—he is accompanyed by Ensign [Lieutenant][49] Richd. Hankey, Lieute [Ensign][50] Wm Finch & Doct. Minzey[51] whose paroles I have, with the Majors sent to Colo: Holler[52]—

I am told a French Gentleman who has the Rank of a Major in our Service is made Prisoner of War, and I understand the Marquis De Fiet[53] interests himself much in his Exchange. Could nothing be effected for Major Edmeson on that head?

It gives me pleasure to inform you that Major Edmeson has merited from me every indulgence that I as a Continental Officer could shew him, & I can with the greatest certainty recommend him to you as a Gentleman of strict honour—if he is not exchanged he wishes to return to this County, in which if he is indulged, I will place him at Nazareth, unless otherwise directed, and be answerable for the Major in every respect

You'll please to add to the Genl List sent you by Express John Frederick Naulder taken at Trenton Decemr. 26–77[54]—a private Capt. Friends Comy. of Count Donops Chaseurs—he came here with our Sick this day & I have sent him on to Colo: Holler—

I am Dear Sir
Your most hble Servt
Robt. Lettis Hooper jr

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[47] Thomas Dilkes, Major 49th Regiment of Foot.

[48] Probably Major Charles Edmonstone, of the 18th British regiment.

[49] Erased, and "Ensign" interlined. He was 20th Regiment of Foot.

[50] Erased, and "Lieute" interlined. Of the 27th Regiment of Foot.

[51] Probably Surgeon Archibald Menzies, of the 27th British regiment.

[52] Col. Henry Haller, wagon master in the Pennsylvania military service.

[53] Marquis de la Fayette.

[54] December 26, 1776, is meant, of course.

Washington seems to have reposed especial confidence in Hooper, as we find he was given charge of the distinguished Baron Riedesel, wife, children and suite and General William Phillips, captured at Saratoga, under orders from the Commander-in-Chief that they should be quartered only at Bethlehem or Nazareth, Pa., and their paroles of Nov. 15, 1779, were sent by Washington to Hooper.[55] Hooper's genial nature and social qualities may have had not a little to do with this assignment, as these distinguished prisoners, especially Riedesel, were treated with all the consideration commensurate with their positions. That Hooper possessed these qualities is shown by several letters that we have. From New York, April 10, 1774, he tells[56] of meeting at Flatbush the venerable Cadwallader Colden who he says, "is the best real Picture of an Old Man that I ever saw. He is eighty-seven years old, has his hearing and senses as well as ever he had, without marks of age, except his eyes which grow dim and his head covered with strong white hair. His Madeira is excellent and he is no churl; indeed he pushed me so hard that I was obliged to shear off." Five years later on Christmas Day, 1779, he wrote to General Hand, "I shall be happy to see you at my House and to crack *One Bottle* of good Madeira with you." The underscoring of the "One Bottle" tells of the shrunken cellars of those days and the impossibility of replenishment.

As he was generous to himself and his friends at home, so he was to the poor fellows who were suffering in the field. We find him among those subscribing £5000 to the Bank of Pennsylvania, organized by Robert Morris "for the purpose of supplying the Army of the United States with provisions for two months," which was opened July 17, 1781, with a total capital of £315,000. Hooper was doubtless a man of large fortune for those

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[55] Etwein's Diary at Bethlehem in the Revolution. PENNA. MAG. OF HIST. AND BIOG., Vol. xiii, p. 88.

[56] PENNA. MAG. OF HIST. AND BIOG., Vol. xviii, p. 513.

days, with decidedly speculative tastes, which was one of the evils of the times and brought so many of prominence to ruin. He inherited a taste for great schemes in lands and in business enterprises from his great-grandfather, grandfather and father, each of whom, as we have seen in the earlier pages of this sketch, were engaged along the same lines as he followed. He was an extensive land speculator or, as he would be called to-day, not improperly, "land grabber," being listed, as early as 1775, for unpaid taxes on tracts he had taken up in Bedford, Northampton, Northumberland and Westmoreland counties in Pennsylvania. He also was interested one-third in "Iron Mine Tract of land on the Southerly waters of Walunpanpack, in the county of Northampton, Penna."[57] But his largest deal seems to have been in partnership with James Wilson, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States by appointment of Washington, and Simeon DeWitt, Surveyor General of the State of New York for half a century until his death, "to adventure" in the "vacant and unappropriated lands between the line of the Indian Cession made at Fort Stanwix, in 1768, and the Northern Boundary of Pennsylvania," in the State of New York.[58] It seemed such a land of promise that they called it "The Canaan Company" and Hooper attended to all the details of the business at Albany and on the ground; but it does not appear that the promise was fulfilled; on the contrary it seems to have been, like most all of such "adventures" at that time, a financial failure for the original purchasers. Likewise he was in partnership with George Taylor, the Signer of the Declaration of Independence, who came to this country as a redemptioner and was bound to the iron master at Durham, Pa., whose widow he subsequently married when he

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[57] Letter to James Wilson, March 9, 1787, Hist. Soc. of Penna.

[58] *Vide* Agreement of May 4, 1785, in Wilson Papers, Hist. Soc. of Penna.

became proprietor of the works,[59] Richard Backhouse and Colonel Isaac Sidman, in the Durham Iron Works from early in 1780 until the death of Taylor in February of the following year, when the surviving partners became involved in disputes with his executors, which seem to have been constantly agitated during the next five years before a settlement was made and which must have required very delicate handling, from the fact that Hooper was one of the executors of Taylor's will, by which Taylor bequeathed to Hooper "a neat silver-mounted small sword to be thus engraved 'In memory of George Taylor, Esquire'"

About this time Hooper followed his friend Taylor's example and became deeply interested in the Ringwood Iron Works, in New Jersey, by marrying the widow of their owner. We know by a deed dated July 3, 1759, that prior thereto "Robert Lettis Hooper Junior of Kinsbury, Burlington county, Merchant," had married Margaret Biles, "grand-daughter of Thomas Lambert of Nottingham in said county," and we also know that she was living with him at Easton as late as April 28, 1779, when he writes to General Hand, "Mrs. Hooper has been collecting Shad for two weeks to fill a Bbl. at the moderate price of 5/ and 7/6 p. Shad."[60] We are, however, in the dark as to when or where she died, but on October 31, 1781, at Trenton, he took out a license to marry Elizabeth Erskine. There is a very charming letter framed in the Hewitt Mansion, at Ringwood, dated September 7, 1781, from Hooper, to his old friend Backhouse, announcing his intended engagement. He writes, "I have long wished to visit you, but, my worthy Friend, I have been much engaged. I must not trifle with you & in plain truth I

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[59] *Vide* History of the Durham Iron Works, Proc. Bucks County Historical Society, Vol. i, p. 232, wherein it is disputed that George Taylor was a Redemptioner, with very good cause, as there were few, if any, Redemptioners who were not aliens of Great Britain.

[60] Hand Papers Hist. Soc. of Penna.

have been hunting for a wife. I am sure among all my numerous acquaintances there is not one that esteems me more than you do, and I love you with the genuine warmth of true friendship. You then, Dear Sir, must be pleased when I tell you that I am engaged to Mrs Erskine, a Lady high in estimation for her good sense, affability and sweetness of Temper & blessed withall with a plentifull Fortune. I assure you that I do on the most deliberate principles of honour think that comfort and felicity will attend the choice I have made."[61]

Elizabeth Erskine was the widow of Robert Erskine, F. R. S., who was sent to this country in 1772, by "The London Company" to take charge of the "New York and New Jersey Iron Works," sometimes called "The American Ringwood Company in Bergen county."[62] Erskine was eminent in many branches of science and by resolution of Congress, July 25, 1777, was appointed "Geographer and Surveyor General to the Army of the United States," at Washington's Head-quarters. He was born in Scotland September 7, 1735, and died at his house at Ringwood, N. J., October 2, 1780, and is buried there, a monument being erected to him by order of Washington.[63] The Marquis de Chastellux stopped at Ringwood, December 19, 1780, and called upon Mrs. Erskine. He says, "I entered a very handsome house, where everybody was in mourning, Mr. Erskine being dead two months before. Mrs. Erskine, his widow, is about forty, and did not appear the less fresh and tranquil for her misfortune." In the *Pennsylvania Journal* for July 6, 178 2, the adjournment of the New Jersey legislature is noted and among the important acts passed was

[61] The Ringwood Iron Works and the Durham Iron Works in more rece nt times became the property of Edward Cooper and Abraham S. Hewitt of New York, whose family still own them and this letter is in the possession of Mrs. Abraham S. Hewitt.

[62] History of the Presbyterian Church in Trenton, N. J., by John Hall, p. 316.

[63] William Nelson in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Vol. iii, p. 579.

one "To vest in Robert Lettis Hooper, the younger, and Elizabeth his wife and the survivor of them with powers of agency, to take charge of and manage the estate of the American Company, commonly so called in the counties of Bergen and Morris and elsewhere in this state, for the purposes mentioned therein." Mrs. Elizabeth Hooper died in 1796 and her husband survived until the next year when he died on the 30th of July, 1797, in his sixty-seventh year, at his residence called Belleville, near Trenton. His will dated July 12 and proved August 7, 1797, shows that he left no issue[64] as the residuary estate went to his sister Isabella Johnson of Perth Amboy.[65] Hooper's elegant seat "at the Falls of Delaware about a mile above Trenton," containing 100 acres, was purchased by him April 3, 1779. It had previously been the residence of Sir John St Clair[66] and then of Lord Stirling.[67] After Hooper's death Belleville passed into the hands of the Rutherfurd family and was advertised for Sale by John Rutherfurd in 1806.

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[64] Among the records of Christ Church, Philadelphia, there is a *baptism*, May 1, 1789 of Robert *Lettice* Hooper, son of Robert and *Eve* Hooper, born July 2, 1788. There is also a *burial*, September 3, 1790 of Robert *Lettes* son of Robert Hooper. As these records were usually made by the Verger, a person of ordinary or no education, and not by the rector, I think there can be little doubt but that this was the infant of Robert Lettis and Elizabeth Hooper.

[65] In the New York Genealogical and Biographical Record for 1902, p. 248, in "Some Annandale Johnstons in America" it is stated that John, son of Andrew and Catharine Van Cortland Johnson, married "Isabella daughter of *Rev. Morris Lettice* Hooper of Trenton, N. J." She was of course the daughter of Robert Lettis Hooper, the 2nd of the name.

[66] Sir John St Clair was Lieutenant-Colonel of the 22nd Regiment and Deputy Quarter-Master-General of all the British Forces in America. He came with Braddock and was wounded near Fort Du Quesne. He married Elizabeth Moland of Philadelphia, March 17, 1762, and died at Bellville, Elizabethtown, N. J., November 26, 1767, to which place he must have removed from Trenton and named his new home after his old one. There is an original miniature of him painted by Copley and signed "J. S. C. 1759", in the Hist. Soc. of Penna. *Vide* PENNA. MAG. OF HIST. AND BIOG, Vol. ix, p. 1.

[67] Hall's History of the Presbyterian Church in Trenton, N. J., p. 102.

Robert Lettis Hooper was in every sense of the word a man of affairs and he seems never to have been idle or even slothful. When towards the close of the war it became necessary for the inhabitants of Trenton to meet to consider a plan of Association to prevent trade and intercourse with the enemy, they got together on July 11, 1782, and chose Hooper chairman, who the following day issued an address "on behalf of the Committee" urging the people to desist from such actions.[68] He was one of the Justices for Hunterdon county and Judge of the Common Pleas in 1782, 1787 and 1792; succeeded John Cleves Symmes as Vice-President of the Council of New Jersey in November, 1785, which he continued to hold for three years, being Chairman of the Joint Meeting of the Legislature in 1788, and during the absence of the Governor acted in his place.[69] He was an Honorary member of the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of New Jersey, elected at the second meeting of the society held at Princeton, N. J., September 24, 1783, along with Elias Boudinot, President of Congress, William Livingston, Governor of the State, Frederick Frelinghuysen and Thomas Henderson.

Among the members of the Union Fire Company, instituted May 8, 1747, we find "Robert Lettis Hooper Vice President of the Council and the man who first laid out Mill Hill and Bloomsbury for a town."[70] He was also the first Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of New Jersey of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, which was instituted by a charter from England December 18, 1786, and he was the first Senior Warden of Trenton Lodge No 5, which was chartered in 1787, to which by his will

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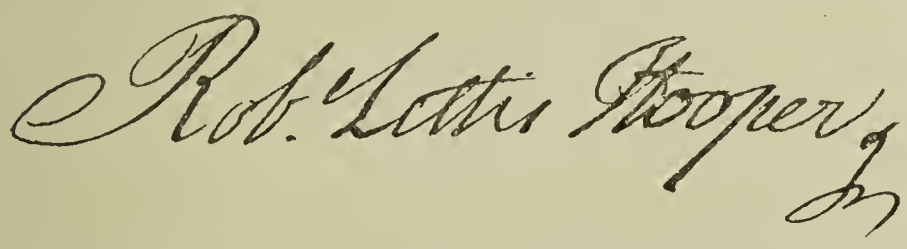
[68] Raum's History of Trenton, pp. 366–371, where all the proceedings will be found.

[69] Letter to James Wilson, Nov. 9, 1785. "Our Governor must leave Council next Friday and will not return before Monday. I must take the chair and being so circumstanced I cannot come to you." Hist. Soc. of Penna.

[70] Raum's History of Trenton, p. 398.

he gave "my silver hilted sword now in their possession, in testimony of the esteem and affection I bear to the fraternity and to that Lodge in particular, and that the said sword be new mounted by my Executors and paid for out of my Estate." This is doubtless the sword bequeathed to him by George Taylor; but the Lodge has no record of it.

Hooper possessed a distinctly interesting personality and was quite a picturesque character, ever open to any scheme that presented an opportunity for adventure or profit, but, from the records that we have examined in the course of the investigations for this memoir, there was apparently more of the former than of the latter gained, unless it was in his last matrimonial speculation entered into when he was past his fiftieth year. Certainly his career as we have related it warrants the surprise expressed at the opening, that it has not been told before, and we shall close this relation with the words of his obituary in Claypoole's *Daily Advertiser* for August 11, 1797: "He had long the charge of important offices, civil and military, which he executed with fidelity and was very much respected in his private relations of life."[71]



[71] It is a great pleasure, as also a plain duty, to express my appreciation of the assistance I have received in the gathering of material for this article from John W. Jordan, LL.D., Librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; William Nelson, Esq., Corresponding Secretary of the New Jersey Historical Society; Dr. B. F. Fackenthal, Jr., President of the Thomas Iron Company; and F. C. Griffith, Esq., of Trenton, N. J.

THE FIRST ABOLITION SOCIETY IN THE UNITED STATES*

BY EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER
Professor of History, University of Michigan.

It was not merely an accident that the first abolition society was organized in Pennsylvania, since opposition to slave-holding had arisen there in the earliest colonial days. In 1688 Pastorius and some Friends of Germantown issued the first formal protest against slavery ever made in North America, while in 1693 the Keithian Quakers gave out in Philadelphia the first declaration of this kind printed in our country. In the years following the Friends took up the work, so that by 1776 most of their own slaves had been set free. Meanwhile abolitionist writers like Ralph Sandiford, Benjamin Lay, and Anthony Benezet, circulated far and wide such books as *The Mystery of Iniquity, All Slave-Keepers Apostates,* and *Notes on the Slave Trade,* arousing fierce opposition at times, but gradually making converts. Toward the end of the colonial period not only the Friends, but the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, and the Baptists, were denouncing the system. By 1780 more than half of the negroes in Pennsylvania were free. In that year, owing to the pressure of popular opinion, the State legislature approved the first law for the abolition of slavery ever passed in the United States.

Accordingly it may be seen that in Pennsylvania both in colonial and Revolutionary days there was a large number of people who were determined to oppose slavery by every means in their power. Particularly was this true of the Quakers. Between 1770 and 1780 slavery among the Friends of Pennsylvania became extinct, but

* For the most part the original records upon which this study is based, were obtained at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

they had no thought of ceasing their opposition. They had given liberty to their own slaves, but many were still held in bondage by other people, while from time to time kidnappers carried off negroes undoubtedly free.

ALL

SLAVE-KEEPERS

That keep the Innocent in Bondage,

APOSTATES

Pretending to lay Claim to the Pure & Holy ChriſtianReligion; of whatCongregation ſo ever; but eſpecially in theirMiniſters, by whoſe example the filthy Leproſy and Apoſtacy is ſpread far and near; it is a notorious Sin, which many of the true Friends of Chriſt, and his pure Truth, called *Quakers*, has been for many Years, and ſtill are concern'd to write and bear Teſtimony againſt; as a Practice ſo groſs & hurtful to Religion, and deſtructive to Government, beyond what Words can ſet forth, or can be declared of by Men or Angels, and yet lived in by Miniſters and Magiſtrates in *America*.

The Leaders of the People cauſe them to Err.

Written for a General Service, by him that truly and ſincerely deſires the preſent and eternal Welfare and Happineſs of all Mankind, all the World over, of all Colours, and Nations, as his own Soul;

BENJAMIN LAY.

PHILADELPHIA:

Printed for the AUTHOR. 1737.

Therefore men like Anthony Benezet were unwearied in their efforts to persuade masters to manumit their negroes, to help negroes purchase their freedom, and to help them preserve the liberty thus obtained.

At first this work was carried on individually or by committees of the Friends, but so many people in Philadelphia were interested that it needed only a particular occurrence to cause them to organize. Such an incident soon arose. In 1773 an Indian woman from New Jersey was brought to Philadelphia by her owner, who was taking her south. While her master tarried in the city she declared that she and her children were free. Then Israel Pemberton and other citizens, eager to right an injustice of this kind, came to her assistance and sued for her liberty in the courts. It was two years before the matter was decided; but at last she was declared to be a slave. The case made a deep impression, however, on those who conducted it, and they resolved to organize so as to do more effective work in the future. "This," said the recorder of the Society, writing years afterward, "is the first case on the minutes of the society, and appears to have given rise to its formation." Such was the origin of the first abolition society in the United States.

On April 14, 1775, a number of men met at the Sun Tavern in Philadelphia, and adopted a constitution for what they called "The Society for the Relief of Free Negroes, unlawfully held in Bondage." John Baldwin was chosen president. The confusion which resulted from the Revolutionary War caused the Society almost immediately to fall into abeyance. In 1784, however, it was reorganized. In 1787 a new constitution was adopted, the name was changed, and Benjamin Franklin was elected president. Two years later the State legislature granted it a charter of incorporation. Thereafter the work was continuous until the need for such work passed away. Most of its supporters were the Friends who had been so active against slavery in the earlier days: "A majority of its members always belonged to that denomination," says the first historian. The official title of the organization was "The Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for the Relief of Free Negroes

Unlawfully Held in Bondage, and for Improving the Condition of the African Race."

Early abolitionism, that is real abolitionism, has been much misunderstood. In after days when William Lloyd Garrison and his associates were arousing popular wrath and indignation, they were called abolitionists. They themselves would have said that they were members of anti-slavery societies or new abolitionists, and generally not supporters of the abolition societies whose quiet methods they despised. Yet in popular usage the old name was applied to the reformers with a new meaning, and in the bitterness and strife of the period from 1830 to 1860 "abolition" and "abolitionist" became opprobrious terms. And so entirely was the meaning changed that the character and work of the real abolition societies is now forgotten or misunderstood. The members of the Pennsylvania Society were all of them quiet, orderly, law-abiding men; their work was efficient and helpful.

The Society had been organized primarily to further the abolition of slavery, but in Pennsylvania that work had already progressed so far that the widest opportunity lay rather in assisting free negroes and helping them to retain their freedom.

This was the abolitionist activity which has most completely fallen into oblivion, but which most deserves to be remembered. It was the most successful and the most remarkable work of the Society, but because it was quiet and inconspicuous it is not often called to mind now. It is probably true that the greater part of the progress made by the negroes of Pennsylvania after they became free, was owing directly or indirectly to the assistance of the Society and its sympathizers.

Help was given in many different ways. Sometimes the Society paid a master to give liberty to his slave. Sometimes the master was assured that he would not be held chargeable, as the law ordained, in case the negro manumitted failed to support himself. Then when the

negro was free the Society took him into care, helped him to find employment, furnished him with letters of recommendation, and saw that his employer did not take advantage of him. In 1789 the Society appointed four committees to assist negroes in solving the social and economic problems which confronted them. It opened schools to teach children and night schools for adults, practically the first and certainly the best schools which these negroes ever had. As the rising prejudice against negroes, which increased so strikingly after 1800, became more and more apparent, the abolitionists did their utmost to appease the white people, and teach the blacks to behave in such a manner as to win respect. When the authorities threatened to pass discriminatory legislation, they opposed it earnestly and successfully. In 1801 the State Senate proposed to emancipate the remaining slaves in the Commonwealth, and pay the masters by levying a special tax upon the negroes who were free. At once the Society made a vigorous protest. Why tax those least able to pay? In carrying on all this work the members collected information and statistics which are the best the historian is now able to obtain.

In many respects free negroes were peculiarly liable to injustice and oppression at this time. Often they were seized by speculators who declared that they were fugitive slaves, and who, with the connivance of corrupt magistrates, sold them into bondage again. Probably the best known negro in Philadelphia was Bishop Allen; yet a Southern trader had him arrested, and swore that he had recently purchased him as a slave. So many people hastened to testify that they had known the colored preacher for more than twenty years, that the perjurer got a sentence in jail. In other cases, however, it was the negro who suffered. Furthermore kidnappers considered Pennsylvania an excellent field after 1780. Not infrequently the victim was clubbed into submission, hurried across the State line, and never heard of again.

The Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition
of Slavery &c
To Thomas Shipley Dr.

To Cash Pd for recovering a Colored Lad
Thereon of John Hill State Keeper from near
New Brunswick where he had been secured
with an intention of Kidnapping him $ 10 —
Postage on 4 letters relating to
Business of the Society 50
$ 10.50

1829
9 Mo 24 Postage Paid on a Document proving
the Freedom of Dorothy Prettyman a Person
of Colour in Prison at Charleston
under the care of Thomas Grimke Esqr 50
$ 11 —

The organization of the Society in the first place had been owing to a desire to combat such practices, and the warfare waged against them was relentless and unceasing. "To prevent the disgraceful & inhuman practice of kidnapping (which it appears from several attempts lately detected, is carried to a considerable extent), we have committees under appointment who we believe maintain a due attention to their duties," says the old record. In 1820 and in 1847 severe laws were passed by the State legislature, largely owing to the efforts of the abolitionists. Meanwhile the Society saw to it that these laws were enforced. The penalties were exceedingly heavy, the maximum being a fine of $2,000 and imprisonment for twenty-one years. One offender, who had stolen two negroes, was actually fined $4,000 and sent to the penitentiary for forty-two years. On another occasion a culprit, who had been convicted largely through the efforts of the Society, sent most appealing letters beseeching its intercession. These letters are all copied in the folio records, but seem to have brought no mercy. It may be said that kidnapping in Pennsylvania was brought to an end because the abolitionists made it too dangerous.

After all the principal object was the abolition of slavery, but in furtherance of this object the abolitionists carried on the least successful part of their work. In Pennsylvania they continued the efforts which they had made to bring slavery to an end, for the act of 1780 abolished slavery for the future, and did not deprive masters of the negroes whom they already owned. In other words the act provided for gradual abolition, and the operation in some cases was very gradual indeed, there being a slave in the State, it is said, as late as 1860. For the most part, however, as time went on these slaves were set free by manumission. This also was largely the result of the persuasion and assistance of the abolitionists and Friends, who took up collections, helped negroes to save money, loaned them money, and made terms with the masters.

Meanwhile they struck at the root of the matter and tried to get slavery abolished outright. First they attacked it in the courts. The State constitution of 1790 declared that all men were born equally free and independent. In Massachusetts, where a similar expression had been used, the supreme court, deciding a test case, asserted that the existence of slavery was inconsistent with such a statement. About 1794 the abolitionists resolved to ascertain "Whether slavery, under any modification whatever, is not inconsistent with the present Constitution of this State." Therefore in the year following a master, Joseph Graisberry, was sued on a writ *de homine replegiando* because he was in possession of a negress, Flora. The case, which was instituted in the supreme court, was delayed for various reasons until at last it was sent up to the High Court of Errors and Appeals, the ultimate judicial authority in the State. After long arguments, in which Jared Ingersoll, William Rawle, and William Lewis urged for the negress pleas which we do not know, it was decided in 1802 that slavery might legally exist in Pennsylvania despite the lofty assertion contained in the bill of rights.

Then the Society tried to get the legislature to pass a law bringing slavery to an end. Year after year its members sent memorials to the State capital. In 1804, when the Senate was considering a bill, the Society made a stirring appeal. "We respectfully and earnestly solicit," ran the petition, "that the present opportunity may not be permitted to escape for wiping away the opprobrium which has so justly attached to our State on account of the manifest difference between the noble Charter of Liberty contained in our excellent Constitution, and a practice so pregnant with evil, and so directly in opposition to all our boasted professions." Many other people took up the cry at one time or another, and occasionally it seemed that the legislature might do something. In the end, however, it was seen that such a bill had no

chance of passing, and that slavery in Pennsylvania would be left to disappear by the gradual operation of the law already in force.

In its desire to destroy slavery the Society did not confine its efforts to Pennsylvania, but began to urge abolition elsewhere as well. On February 11, 1790, the United States Congress received a petition from the Quakers of Pennsylvania and also one from the Quakers of New York, praying for the abolition of the slave-trade. At once there began a heated debate which became the more vehement when on the next day was read a memorial from the Pennsylvania Society signed by its president, Benjamin Franklin. "From a persuasion that equal liberty was originally the portion, and is still the birthright of all men; and influenced by the strong ties of humanity, and the principles of their institution, your memorialists conceive themselves bound to use all justifiable endeavors to loosen the bands of slavery, and promote a general enjoyment of the blessings of freedom. Under these impressions, they earnestly entreat your serious attention to the subject of slavery; that you will be pleased to countenance the restoration of liberty to those unhappy men, who alone, in this land of freedom, are degraded into perpetual bondage, and who, amidst the general joy of surrounding freemen, are groaning in servile subjection; that you will devise means for removing this inconsistency from the character of the American people; that you will promote mercy and justice towards this distressed race, and that you will step to the very verge of the power vested in you for discouraging every species of traffic in the persons of our fellow-men." This was the first petition which the Federal government received asking it to take measures against slavery.

The slave-trade, which was mentioned in this memorial, had likewise engaged the attention of the abolitionists. Importation of slaves into Pennsylvania was made impossible by the act of 1780, but not a few Pennsylvanians

continued to fit out ships for the African trade, some of which brought negroes to Philadelphia, whence they were taken to other places. The earnest petitions of the Society induced the legislature to pass a law in 1788, which imposed a penalty of £1,000 upon anyone who engaged in the business; but even as late as 1796 a German traveller wrote, "Great ships loaded with slaves frequently come over from Africa, particularly to Philadelphia." To put a stop to this traffic, whether carried on from Philadelphia or from other places, the abolitionists did their utmost. In 1789 the Pennsylvania Society circulated far and wide a broadside reproducing from Matthew Carey's *American Museum* a dreadful picture showing negroes packed together under the deck of a slave-ship, and describing in vivid language their sufferings during the passage. After 1808 the Society was diligent in investigating violations of the law forbidding the slave-trade. In 1812 it sent a secret agent to New York and to Rhode Island to report upon the alleged activity of slavers there.

The Society opposed the extension of slavery into new territory as it was acquired by the Federal government, but accomplished nothing. It also took an active part in urging the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia. In this it had the sympathy of great numbers of the people of the State who were not abolitionists. In 1827 Pennsylvania instructed her senators to do everything in their power to end slavery in the District, while two years later one of her representatives made a long speech on the subject in Congress. "The existence of slavery in the District of Columbia," said the State senate in 1831, "is a foul stain upon our national character, and a deep injury to our best interests."

Abolitionist activity in many other places was fostered and encouraged by the Pennsylvania Society. After the Revolutionary War numerous similar organizations were formed, some of them directly as a result of its efforts.

In 1792 it brought about the establishment of an abolition society in New Jersey, and a few years later, when the Wilmington Society was on the point of dissolving, a committee was sent from Philadelphia to give encouragement and promise assistance in order that the good work might be continued. With all the abolition societies the Pennsylvania organization carried on constant correspondence, and was generally regarded as parent and adviser. In 1794, when it was thought well to hold an abolition convention, the delegates met in Philadelphia. The position of leadership held by the Pennsylvania Abolition Society may be understood from the fact that in the years from 1794 to 1829 twenty out of twenty-four conventions were held in Philadelphia.

After 1810 the Society had in view two great objects: assisting free negroes in Pennsylvania, and urging the abolition of slavery outside of the State. The first attracted little attention and aroused no opposition; the second also was of such a character as to awaken no great hostility, since the methods employed were altogether those of argument and persuasion. The circulation of broadsides and pamphlets went on without ceasing. In 1787 Clarkson's *Essay on the Commerce and Slavery of the Africans* had been sent to all the governors of the States. In 1825 the Society resolved to collect and circulate in the slave States information showing the impolicy of slavery and the advantages of emancipation. There was some protest and some indignation in the South, but the literature was designed to convince the masters and not to arouse the slaves. When Benjamin Lundy's paper, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation,* was struggling for existence, the Society helped him by paying for ten subscriptions in advance, and lending him fifty dollars.

A somewhat more aggressive attitude was taken in the matter of boycotting the products of slave labor. In 1797 the abolition convention at Philadelphia declared that it did not believe that "it would be an effort alto-

gether ineffectual in favor of liberty, were its friends, throughout the United States, in all cases where it is practicable, to display marked preference of all such commodities as are of the culture or manufacture of freemen, to those which are cultivated or manufactured by slaves." Some years later the Pennsylvania Society offered to purchase at an advance of ten per cent over the market price, the first ten thousand pounds of cotton raised in the South by free labor and brought to Philadelphia. This was the foundation of the work which was afterwards carried on in the State by the Free Produce and Requited Labor societies.

Of all this work it may be said in general that it was painstaking and thorough, orderly and quiet. In Pennsylvania it succeeded in nearly all respects. It had much to do with procuring the abolition of slavery, it stopped the slave-trade at Philadelphia, it brought kidnapping to an end, and it gave to free negroes assistance as beneficial as has ever been given to them anywhere. But in the larger task outside the State the abolitionists met with no success. They could not get the Federal government to abolish slavery in the nation's capital, or forbid slavery in Florida or Missouri. Their petitions were not heeded, their broadsides were not read. They could not get Southern legislatures to free slaves, nor Southern masters to manumit them. Rather slavery was increasing and threatening to spread across the whole country. By 1830 this was evident, and many felt that the time had come for a change. The conservative methods of the abolitionists seemed to have been fruitless. Therefore the younger, the bolder, the more aggressive, felt that slavery should be attacked violently and opposed at all cost. This feeling was not confined to Pennsylvania, but prevailed all over the North, its most famous exponent being William Lloyd Garrison. The result was the anti-slavery movement, supported by men who desired the abolition of slavery, and who urged immediate abolition fiercely,

but who seem to have despaired of obtaining such abolition, and therefore resolved to fight with all their strength against the slave power.

In 1833 Edwin P. Atlee, one of the leading members of the Society, wrote a pamphlet in which he demanded "total abolition. Not gradual, but immediate." The constitution of the United States, he said, was an iniquity, since it supported slavery. In the year following the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Society was founded. Its members were determined that no more slave States should be admitted. State and local organizations of the same character now sprang up everywhere, and the country was overwhelmed by a torrent of incendiary utterances. "We believe that slavery is contrary to the precepts of Christianity, dangerous to the liberties of the country, and ought *immediately* to be abolished," said the constitution of the Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society of Philadelphia. Slavery in the United States was worse than any cruelty of the Spanish inquisition, said the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Society. It was a violation of the law of God and of the constitution, said another association. More alarming still were the reckless utterances about disunion. In a pamphlet published in 1840 the author said, "It is the duty of Pennsylvania and of the South, to do to others as they would that others should do to them. It is their duty to let other States secede from the Union, much as they may regret it, if the only means of preventing it is to assist in inflicting a wrong upon others, which they would not undergo themselves for the sake of any political union that ever existed." "We ought instantly to grant to all men the enjoyment of their inalienable rights."

The result was that the anti-slavery movement aroused a storm of opposition such as the old abolitionist propaganda had never encountered. All over the State the newspapers overwhelmed the agitators with opprobrium and abuse. Garrison was commended to a lunatic asylum.

Speakers were driven away and lecturers were forbidden to appear. In 1838 Pennsylvania Hall, where meetings were being held, was burned by a mob, and a fierce riot followed. When appeal was made to the legislature, for protection, little comfort was given. It advised the anti-slavery advocates to let it be "their duty to abstain from the propagation of opinions and sentiments inimical to the peace of the country, and to the integrity of the union, and from holding public meetings which, from their obnoxious character have a direct tendency to produce disorder, violations of the peace and riots, and such complaints as are contained in the petitions now under consideration, will soon cease to be made."

In all this agitation the older abolitionist organization took small part. Most of the Quakers, who made up the larger part of its membership, believed in persuading and convincing, not in threatening and coercing. If their progress was slow, they would wait. They would not violate either law or constitution. They believed that violence would bring about reaction, that unseemly denunciation of the South would make abolition more difficult, and the lot of the free negro worse. In 1834 William Rawle, president of the Pennsylvania Society, explained the views of the abolitionists.

"The objects of this association were temperate, legitimate and correct—they were substantially confined to the limits of our own state—much individual good was done—coloured people suffering by reason of fraud or unlawful violence were relieved—the pursuits of them by persons falsely claiming rights to their service were judiciously repelled—their youth were educated—their industry assisted—in sickness they were aided—and in the hour of death they were solaced and supported.

"In all this no offense was given to the citizens of other states. Their boundaries were respected, and their laws and constitutions not attempted to be violated. A belief

was entertained that an abhorrence of slavery would gradually work its way, and that it was the duty of the society patiently to wait the event."

"The conduct and proceedings," he said, "of the general anti-slavery society have not met with my entire approbation. The members appear to me to be actuated by a blind and injudicious zeal, productive of measures the effect of which will be to awaken alarm, create a determined opposition among the slave holders, and delay the progress of conscientious emancipation.

"That day—the day of general emancipation—will, I trust and believe, hereafter arrive. But I fear it will be delayed by the institution of societies so warm, and so imprudent."

And yet by a curious fate, although many of the abolitionists opposed the violence of the anti-slavery movement and expressed their disapproval of it, their name was given to the anti-slavery advocates, and became a term of loathing and contempt. Atlee and his associates might found an anti-slavery society, but not only because they desired to abolish slavery but because some of them had been members of the abolitionist organization, and some of them continued to be, the press and the mob both termed them abolitionists. Soon the word came to signify an undesirable fanatic, and was one of the most insulting epithets that could be applied. In 1838 the bitterest opponents of Governor Ritner delighted to call him "abolitionist."

As time went on popular indignation subsided, and great numbers of people were won over to the new and aggressive policy. Indeed after a while not a few of the conservative abolitionists and Friends came to believe that aggressive methods were the right ones. This was the cause of much debate and bitterness, and had as one of its results the formation, in 1853, of the Society of Progressive Friends. After that time there were none who demanded abolition and denounced slave-holding more vehemently.

In some respects, then, the venerable abolition society of Pennsylvania might seem to have outlived its usefulness and fallen upon evil days. Not only were all the bolder spirits engaged in more vigorous and sensational work, but many of its own adherents had withdrawn from it, or, like Edwin P. Atlee, were devoting most of their time to the new abolitionism. It was difficult to keep up attendance at the meetings, and, because of the depreciation of some of its property, the resources of the Society were much reduced. In 1842 it was necessary to appoint a "Resuscitating Committee" to revive interest and attract new members.

Yet the old organization did not lose heart, but continued steadfastly on its way, seeking to do useful work, and doing a great deal of good. In the face of overwhelming prejudice it devoted itself to the humble task of assisting the negro and helping him to feel that there were some who believed in his capacity to improve and his right to make progress. The members opposed the Colonization Society because they believed that it was trying to get rid of negroes as undesirable people. In Pennsylvania the abolitionists did their utmost to dissuade the legislature from passing discriminatory laws and debarring black men from the suffrage. They did all that they could to prove to the community that colored people were not by instinct worthless and vicious, but would be industrious and law-abiding if given a fair chance. It is not too much to say that at this period the Quakers and the abolitionists were substantially the only friends whom the negro had in the State.

To slavery the abolitionists continued their opposition, but all of the more striking work, the work which aroused the hostility of the South, was carried on by the anti-slavery agitators. From time to time the abolitionists petitioned the legislature to put an end to slavery in Pennsylvania, but there was such a little remnant of it left, that their memorials gained no response. In 1847,

however, something was achieved when masters travelling from the South, were forbidden to take their slaves through Pennsylvania.

Perhaps their most aggressive work in the period after 1840 was done along with the members of the anti-slavery societies in behalf of fugitive slaves. This question had always been a matter of concern to the Society, since its members believed that alleged runaways did not get a fair trial, and so free negroes might easily be carried off. For this reason they opposed the first fugitive slave law of 1793. Then it was felt that runaways should have trial by jury, so the abolitionists sent vast numbers of petitions to the State authorities asking that this be granted. After the passage of the fugitive slave law of 1850 they joined with the anti-slavery advocates in demanding a personal liberty law which would prevent the return of fugitives under any circumstances.

Finally during the dark days of the Civil War, when there was less room for abolitionist agitation, the Society continued its old work of assisting negroes, particularly negroes from the South who could get no work. During this time they raised money for the maintenance of orphan colored children, and undertook to find places for them. In Philadelphia they took up once more the cause of the despised colored people, and tried hard to have them allowed to ride in the street cars.

But when the Civil War was at last over, and slavery was abolished, the days of the Society drew to a close. The names of its founders were only a memory. Its great leaders such as Caspar Wistar and William Rawle had died when the larger work of the abolitionists seemed a failure. Now suddenly by a prodigious cataclysm, which even the anti-slavery men could not foresee, the whole system of African bondage was swept away, and there was no longer any need for abolitionist work. The dwindling records of the Society, once so full, come to an end in 1868. In 1876 the celebration of the hundredth anni-

versary of its foundation was really to commemorate something that had passed away.

Such was the work of the first and greatest of the abolition societies. The gathering of a handful of brave and sympathetic men in the old Sun Tavern had produced a mighty organization which had lasted almost a century. Without injustice, without repining, without recrimination, it carried on its work in the face of incredible difficulty and discouragement. If its work was efficient and continuous, its policy was calm and wise. It never tried by force or by revolution to destroy slavery, but by persuasion and enlightenment it sought to bring it to an end. Nor was it merely destructive. It devoted most of its energy to the thankless and unrewarded task of assisting the negroes set free. That which should always be most remembered about the abolitionists, who too frequently are thought of as wanton disturbers of the peace of the old Union, is that they brought about the large part of what has been done to improve the negroes who live in the North.

TOMBSTONE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE BAPTIST GRAVEYARD AT CAPE MAY COURT HOUSE, N. J.

COPIED BY MRS. EMMA STEELMAN ADAMS.

(Continued from Vol. xxxv p. 511.)

Leaming, Aaron, of Cape May, d. June 20, 1746, aged 58 yrs.

Lydia, "Daughter of John & Elizabeth Person, was born at Easthampton April 10th 1680. they moved to Capemay in July 1691. & In Septr 1691. Settled on this Plantation. In January 1693 he died. April 8th 1695 Lydia Married to William Shaw. by whom She had Richard. Lydia. John. Joshua & Nathan. that Survived her May 17th 1712 William Shaw. died. and Octr 12th 1714 she Married Aaron. Leaming. who died June 20th 1746. They. had Aaron. Jeremiah & Elizabeth. and Octr 2 1762 she finished this Life."

Aaron, b. Aug. 28, 1740, d Aug. 31, 1764.

Aaron, Esq. "who Represented this—country in Assembly, 30 Years. Died August 28th 1780 aged 65 Years 1 Month & 11 days.

Mary (Mrs.), dau. of Jonathan & Sarah Foreman, and wife of Aaron Leaming Esqr, d. Jan. 6, 1780, aged 59 yrs. 9 ms. & 14 ds.

Judith, b. Apr. 25, 1747, O. S. and d. Nov. 2, 1779, N. S.

Aaron, son of Jonathan & Judith Leaming, b. July 9, 1776, d. Feb. 9, 1778.

Jeremiah, b. Feb 23, 1716, O. S., d. Jan 18, 1774, N. S.

Jonathan, d Mar. 9, 1809, in his 39th yr.

Jonathan & Aaron, sons of Jon & Elizabeth Leaming.

Matthias, b. Sept. 19, 1749, d Sept. 27, 1763.

Thomas, Sen'r., Esq'r. b Mar 31, 1718, O. S. d 19 Dec. 1795.

Eliz., only daughter of Aaron & Lydia Leaming, b. Sept. 18, 1721, Married Apr. 29, 1740 to Thomas Leaming, by whom she left issue Thomas & Lydia & d. Jan. 26, 1769 N. S.

Coleman F., son of Jeremiah & Abigail F. Leaming, b. June 6, 1818, d May 13, 1900.

Eliza H., wife of Jona. F. Leaming, b Sept. 1, 1826, d. Mar. 23, 1887.

Elizabeth Y., dau. of William & Eliza Leaming, d. Oct. 28, 1853, aged 5 yrs. 7 mo. & 2 ds.

Emma, dau. of Coleman F. & Hannah H. Leaming, d. Aug. 21, 1883.

Edwin T., son of Coleman F. & Hannah H. Leaming, b. Aug. 13, 1857, d Apr. 23, 1868.

Herbert, son of J. F. & E. H. Leaming, b. Aug. 24, 1867, d. Aug. 30 1879.

Josephine, dau. of Aaron & Mary Bennett, relict of Dr. Alexander Young, and wife of Jonathan F. Leaming, d. Dec. 2, 1905, in her 69th yr.

Wm. S., b. Feb 25, 1818, d. July 25, 1898.
Infant son of Jonathan F. & Eliza H. Leaming, d. Mar. 7. 1852.
Mary H., wife of Walter S. Leaming, b. Jan. 13, 1851, d. Nov. 29, 1877.
Stevenson M., b Feb 10, 1822, d. Aug. 8, 1890.
Somers, d. Oct. 22, 1894, in his 75th yr.
Laodicea, wife of Somers Leaming, d. Dec. 26, 1889, in her 66th yr.
J. Freeman, son of Somers & Laodicea Leaming, d Nov. 3, 1868, in his 22 yr.
James R. d May 18, 1820, aged 25 yrs. 11 mo & 19 ds.
James R., son of James R. & Sarah Leaming, d. Feb. 10, 1878, in his 21st yr.
Parsons, d. May 8, 1898.
A. Agusta, dau. of Parsons & Lydia Leaming, d. Dec. 7, 1877, in her 9th yr.
Alton, aged 1 yr. 1 mo.
Hannah, dau. of Parsons & Lydia Leaming, d. Dec. 9, 1877, in her 12th yr.
William, d. Jan 25, 1827, in his 31st yr.
Catharine W., dau. of William & Sarah S. Leaming, d. Oct. 8th, 1821 aged 6 mos.

Ley, Christian P. (Husband), b. Apr. 12, 1880, d Mar. 18, 1904.

Lloyd, David, Late of Co. K. 38th N. J. Vols. D. Mar 23, 1888.

Long, Charlotte, wife of James Long, b. Mar 12, 1825, d. July 1, 1893, aged 68 yrs. 3 ms. 18 ds.
Angeline, dau. of James & Charlotte Long, d. Apr. 12, 1869, aged 18 yrs. 4 mo & 4 ds.
John C., b. Oct 18, 1823, d May 2, 1871.
Roanna, wife of John C. Long, d. Oct 28, 1854, aged 26 yrs. 7 mos. 3 ds.

Loscalzo, Anna G., wife of D. Loscalzo, b. Apr. 18, 1876, d. Mar. 18, 1900.
J. James, son of D. & A. C. Loscalzo, b. May 23, 1895, d June 25, 1900.
Ralph, son of D. & A. C. Loscalzo, b. Apr. 13, 1896, d Sept. 14, 1896.

Loper, William M. b. Aug. 31, 1867, d Mar 18, 1891, aged 23 yrs 6 ms. 18 ds.

Ludlam, "Jaramiah," d. Jan 20, 1777, aged 68 yrs.
Martha, wife of Jeremiah Ludlam, d Dec. 15, 1773, in her 63rd yr.
Mary E., wife of Lewis Ludlam & dau. of James & Elizabeth Husted, b. Oct. 2, 1843, d. Jan 15, 1890.
Mary, d. Aug. 25, 1903, aged 34 yrs.
Mary Ella, dau. of Richard S. & Hannah Ludlam, b. Apr. 6, 1857, d. Jan. 31, 1875.
Norman R., son of C. V. & H. D. Ludlam, b. Feb. 14, 1886, d. Jan. 21, 1888.
Stacy P., son of Richard S. & Edith P. Ludlam, b. July 22, 1857, d May 11, 1886, aged 29 yrs.
Reta, dau. of S. P. & E. P. Ludlam, b. Nov. 23, 1886, d Mar. 9, 1893.

Macarty, William, d Aug. 28, 1865, aged 71 yrs, 5 mos.
Elizabeth, wife of Wm. Macarty, d. June 15, 1876, aged 80 yrs. 6 mos.

McCarty, William, b. May 3, 1832, d Aug 4, 1893.

Elizabeth, wife of Wm. McCarty, b. Dec. 23, 1833, d Mar. 21, 1897.
Milard F., infant son of J. L. & R. McCarty, b. Aug. 1, 1860, d Aug. 18, 1861.
J. Ralph, son of R. H. & D. McCarty, aged 4 mos. 8 ds.

Mace, Eliza, wife of Charles Mace, b. July 7, 1844, in her 42nd yr.

Magonagle, Samuel R. b. Feb. 23, 1829, d. Jan. 22, 1869.

McKean, Annabella, wife of A. McKean, & dau. of Elijah B. & Esther A. Husted, b Dec 13, 1842, d. Aug. 23, 1875.

Mills, Mellie, dau. of Chas. & Rebecca Mills, d. Aug. 17, 1883, aged 18 yrs.

Moore, Mark. E., b. Feb. 22, 1859, d May 16, 1900.
Emma D., wife of Mark E. Moore, b. July 16, 1860.
Bertha May, dau. of Mark E. & Emma D. Moore, b. Aug. 22, 1881, d Dec 15, 1881.
Estella and Gertrude, infant daughter of Mark E. & Emma D. Moore.

Mulford, Capt. Enos. d. July 25, 1871, aged 41 yrs. 11 mos & 4 days.
Mary, wife of Enos Mulford, d. Aug 20, 1869, aged 74 years.
Ephraim, d. Nov. 22, 1826, in his 71st yr.
Rebecca, wife of Ephraim Mulford, d May 23, 1819, in her 64th yr.

Mulfred, Prudence, d. Feb. 4, 1843, aged 59 yrs. 4 mos. & 19 ds.

Murphy, James B., infant son of Bernard & Elizabeth Murphy, d. Jan. 9, 1835, aged 3 yrs.

Morton, John R., Late of Co. H. 12th Reg. N. J. Vol. Died Oct. 25, 1895, in his 68th yr.

Nevil, Mary. (Board painted white; black letters.)

Newton, Nathaniel, d. Aug 15, 1853, aged 63 yrs. 11 mo. & 5 days.
Elizabeth, wife of Nathaniel Newton, d. Sept. 3, 1873, in her 74th yr.

Nichols, Chas. E., b. Aug. 27, 1849, d. Nov. 13, 1901.
Emma, wife of Chas. E. Nichols, b. Aug 3, 1848, d. Dec. 10, 1892.
George N., son of Chas. E. & Emma H. Nichols, d. July 10, 1874, aged 22 mos. & 10 ds.
George, b. Sept. 1, 1872, d. July 10, 1874.
Nettie, b. Feb. 8, 1891, d. Aug. 3, 1891.
Franklin, b. Aug. 11, 1826, d May 22, 1904.
Nancy M., b. Apr. 26, 1827, d May 22, 1896.
Ida M. dau. of F. & N. M. Nichols, b. Jan. 9, 1863, d. Dec. 4, 1895.
Maurice F., son of F. R. & N. M. Nichols, b. Jan. 6, 1868, d Apr. 14, 1881.
Clara A., dau. of F. & N. M. Nichols, b. Apr. 27, 1853, d. Mar. 3, 1866.
Josie M., dau. of F. & N. M. Nichols, b. Jan 9, 1858, d. Jan. 30, 1866.

Nickelson, James, d Sept. 25, 1832, aged 53 yrs. (Father).
Rachel, wife of James Nickelson, d Dec. 13, 1824, aged 35 yrs.
Sarah, dau. of James & Rachel Nickelson, b. Aug. 11, 1816, d. Nov. 30, 1873.

Nickerson, Cornelius L, b. Aug. 10, 1835, d June 30, 1889.
Mary C., wife of Cornelius L. Nickerson, b. May 9, 1842, d. Jan 2, 1889.

Norbury, Jennie, dau. of Joseph M. & Letitia A. Norbury, d Feb. 21, 1865, in her 4th yr.
Joseph, d. in 1821, aged 35 yrs.

Priscilla, wife of Joseph Norbury, d Oct. 1871, in her 87th yr.
Mary E., wife of Heath Norbury, d. June 14, 1891, in her 77th yr. (Mother.)
Heath, d. Mar. 13, 1891, in his 82nd yr. (Father.)
Emma S., dau. of Heath & Mary E. Norbury, d. Dec. 25, 1864, in her 12th yr.
Heath W., son of Heath & Mary E. Norbury, d. Oct. 1, 1860, aged 22 yrs.

Norton, Anna C. Hewitt, wife of Francis T. Norton, b. Dec 25, 1854, d. Dec. 10, 1903.
Fannie Mabel, dau. of L. & E. Norton, d. June 27, 1897, aged 8 ms. 25 ds.
George, b. Jan. 30, 1796, d. Aug. 23, 1851.
Sarah B., wife of Geo. Norton, b. July 26, 1798, d. Sept. 12, 1841.
Charlotte, b. Jan. 10, 1834, d. Oct. 8, 1841.
Martha C., b Jan. 18, 1838, d. Aug 2, 1856.
Wesley B., b. Oct. 15, 1826, d. in North Carolina Oct. 9, 1857.
Lydia, aged 28 days.
Casson, aged 20 ms.
Somers C., b. Dec. 18, 1859, d. Aug. 9, 1901.
Somers C., d. Apr. 10, 1902, in his 73rd yr. (Our Father).
Lydia H., wife of Somers C. Norton, d. Dec. 30, 1895, in her 57th yr. (Our Mother).
Hope, dau. of Somers & Lydia Norton Uriah, Late of Co. K. 38 N. J. Vols, aged 41 yrs.
Willie, son of U. & L. Norton, aged 7 yrs, 6 ms.
Wallace E., b. Sept. 27, 1856, Lost at sea July 24, 1885. (On same stone with Somers C. Norton who was b. 1859, Dec 18, d. 1901, Aug. 9.)

Nottingham, Jonathan, d. Apr. 30, 1834, aged 38 yrs. 10 ms. & 6 ds.
Mary, dau. of Jonathan & Zibiah Nottingham, d. Feb. 27, 1844, aged 41 yrs, 1 mo. & 14 ds.
Jane Chance, dau. of Jonathan & Zibiah Nottingham, d. June 26, 1842, aged 19 yrs, 4 ms. 2 ds.

Notting (ham?), Margaret, d. June 10 (?) 1808, aged 54 yrs, 3 ms. & 21 ds. (Wooden slab, faint where questioned.)

Nottingham, Zabisah, b Nov. 12, 1779, d. Feb. 5, 1869.

Olsen, Inca Petrea, d. July 13, 1902, aged 8 yrs.
Oscar Elwood, d. Aug. 18, 1902, aged 10 ms.

Pfromm, John H., b. Mar. 17, 1835, d. June 28, 1887.
Stone marked O. G. P. 1904.

Playle, Anna. (Painted on board.)

Potts, Edward, Late of Co. F. 192nd Penna. Vols. d. Aug. 13, 1896, aged 50 yrs.

Richardson, Nellie S., b. July 27, 1871, d. Dec. 15, 1879.
Dau. of. Capt. James D., b. Jan 22, 1829, d Dec 26, 1902.
Jeremiah, d. Feb. 23, 1834, aged 48 yrs, 10 ms, & 24 ds.

Thomas H., b. June 25, 1835, drowned from Angelsea Bridge, Sept. 6, 1891.

Ross, Charles T., b. Aug. 14, 1818, d Apr. 26, 1874.

Socrates, son of Charles T. & Abilene Ross, drowned at sea, Oct. 6, 1870, aged 27 yrs.

Hope B., son of Charles & Abilene Ross, d. Mar. 9, 1859, in his 3rd yr.

Hope B., son of Charles & Abilene Ross, b. Mar. 12, 1862, d Jan. 6, 1884.

Prudence M., dau. of Charles & Abilene Ross, d. Mar. 12, 1857, aged 11 yrs. & 5 ms.

Rachel, dau. of John & Sarah Ross, d. Oct. 7, 1840, aged 6 yrs. 2 ms. 3 ds.

Rumy, d Feb. 27, 1858 in her 83rd yr. (A colored woman).

Ryan, Wm. Kenneth, son of R. W. & Henrietta Ryan, b. June 26, 1895, d. Jan. 29, 1904.

Sayre, Eli, b. Feb. 24, 1845, d. Feb. 13, 1889.

William D., son of T. & D. H. Sayre, d. Aug. 14, 1882, in his 21st yr.

Savage, James, son of Joseph & Martha Savage, d. Nov. 7, 1773, in his 19th yr.

Schillinger, Casper, Late of Co K. 28th Penna. Inf'y. Aged 53 yrs.

Schellenger, Geo. W. b Aug. 7, 1820, d. Dec. 12, 1903. (Father.)

Ann M. b. June 13, 1831, d. Feb. 1905. (Mother.)

Fanny, dau. of Geo. W. & Ann Maria Schellenger, d Apr. 15, 1864, aged 5 yrs. 3 mos. & 20 ds.

Mary B., dau. of George W. & Ann Maria Schellenger, b. July 9, 1861, d Mar. 21, 1862.

Mary B., dau. of Geo. W & Martha Schellenger, b. Oct. 5, 1847, d Nov. 3, 1861.

Martha, wife of Geo. W. Schellenger, & dau. of Absalom & Sarah Hand, d. Aug. 16, 1854, in her 25th yr.

Sears, Samuel W. b. Jan 2, 1840, d. Sept. 2, 1904. (Father.)

Bennie C. b. May 25, 1874 d. Jun 26, 1904.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Bevan's Bust of William Penn, Engraved by Du Simitiere.

Lately Publifhed,

AN Elegant Engraving of WILLIAM PENN, firft Proprietor, and Founder of *Pennfylvania.* Defigned by Mr. Du Simitiere, of this City, from a Bufto done by *Sylvanus Bevan,* (being the only Likenefs extant of that truly great Man,) and engraved by one of the firft Artifts in London, is to be had only of Mr. Du Simitiere, at his Apartments at Mrs. Robinfon's in *Cheftnut-Street,* oppofite the *Fountain-Inn;* and of the Publifher of the *Pennfylvania Magazine.*

An Echo of the Whisky Insurrection—

AT a meeting of the Citizens appointed to procure Subfcriptions for the relief of the families of perfons who have marched againft the weftern infurgents, John Barclay, Efq. was appointed Treafurer to the Funds, and to whom the monies collected will be paid. The following perfons were appointed to diftribute to the neceffitous families of their refpective wards, viz.

For New-Market ward	Daniel Smith
Dock ward	Levi Hollingfworth
Walnut ward	James Cox
South ward	Nalbro Frazer
Lower Delaware	Andrew Bayard
Cheftnut ward	John Stille
Middle ward	Ifrael Whelen
North ward	James Afh
High-ftreet ward	Mahlon Hutchinfon
Upper Delaware	William Montgomery
South Mulberry	Andrew Guyer
North Mulberry	Godfrey Haga

Publifhed by order of the Meeting.

ROBERT RALSTON, Secretary.

Philad. 29th Sept. 1794.

Captain Michael Dowdel's company of riflemen, which was attached to the Battalion commanded by Col. William Thompson, was recruited in the vicinity of what is now Gettysburg and in York County, in the early summer of 1775. They marched from York for the army investing Boston on July 1st, and arrived at Cambridge July 25th, at 10 o'clock, the *first* troops to reach there south of the Hudson river. There was considerable criticism of their commanding officer, that he was inefficient and lacked bravery, in the letters that were written home from Camp. Captain Dowdel resigned and Lieut. Henry Miller (later Lieut. Col. 2 Penna. Line), was promoted Captain of the Company. The following advertisement printed in the *Pennsylvania Journal,* of Philadelphia, relieves Captain Dowdel of the charges.

To the PUBLIC

AS fome perfons in the York County Rifle-company, which I had the honor to command, have been induftrious in writing home, and circulating ftories refpecting my conduct at the American camp, greatly to the injury of my character; I muft, in juftice to myfelf and family, beg leave to trouble the public with the perufal of the following certificates in my vindication. My behaviour at the affair on Charleftown Neck, mentioned in his honor General Lee's certificate, has been particularly mifreprefented; but I hope thefe refpectable teftimonials of my conduct, which are hereto annexed, will be fatisfactory to the public, efpecially as no imputations were laid againft me till five weeks after the furprifal of the guard on Charleftown Neck,

MICHAEL DOWDLE.

By his Excellency GEORGE WASHINGTON, *Efq; General and Commander in Chief of the Army of the United Colonies, &c. &c.*

THESE certify, That the bearer, Captain Michael Dowdle, has ferved with credit and reputation, during the courfe of this campaign, was the firft Captain that brought a company of Rifle men to the army, and the firft of that corps who did execution againft the enemy, he was this day, at his own defire, difcharged, as it is inconvenient to his private affairs to remain longer in the army; his fervices meriting this certificate of his good conduct and behaviour, I have accordingly granted him the fame. Given at Head-Quarters, at Cambridge, this 15th day of October, 1775.

G. WASHINGTON.

To all whom it may concern.

Camp on Profpect Hill, October 15, 1775.

THIS is to certify, That Captain Michael Dowdle, during the time that he ferved under my particular orders, behaved with decency and propriety as an Officer and foldier; that particularly the night on which his company furprifed and carried off a part of the enemy's guard on Charleftown-Neck, his officers and foldiers feemed highly fatisfied, and expreffed the higheft fatisfaction with his conduct.

CHARLES LEE, Major General.

Letter of Lady Juliana Penn to John Penn, in the Penn Manuscripts of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

My dear John

As I am Elder than your Sister I claim the right of writing first to thank you for the first, of your two last delightful entertaining letters, directed to Westerham but till a letter from Mrs. Granville Penn inform'd us last post that She had seen you at Stoke we knew not where to direct our Thanks. I have perfectly settled it in my mind, that it is the best Scheme to know the World (& the Beauties of it) To lock oneself up in a corner & send out a Messenger, as Noah did, to inform one what is the State of Things; This Pegion is You, & y^r^ account of those objects worth notice is so charming told, that I feel as if I had had the pleasure of being with you, without any fatigue. You took leave of me at Notingham, & I could give you my opinion of the four Houses you particularized, having seen them

all, They are very different but all very fine in their way in Hertfordshire I admire the Magnificence of Hatfield & was pleased with the Eligance of Brocket Hall, where the light modern state prevails, of the two Burleighs, or Burly, & Burleigh I prefer the former on the Whole for it has beauties from Nature w^{ch} no art can give the latter, But the Work of Man in Both is in a great Style. Lord Exeter's I must confess is most in order thô I hear L^{d} Winchilsea has done much since I saw it to repair what was left to him in almost ruins Sophia now cry's out—The rest of his Tour I must answer to, so I shall only make my Reverance, & thank you for the pleasure I had at second for the rest.

Poor Mrs. Clayton's death, as well as her Burial I must mention, Mrs. J. Penn wrote me word of the Event, & that she was to be conveyed to Stoke next day. If you mean to intimate that the Vault is not large, & the family now numerous, don't you think it w^{d} be best to do so whilst they are all in health? for just at a Melancholy moment it is painful to give any distress. It is not from curiosity, but real good Will, that I wish to know if Mr. Richard Penn has not met with a disappointment by the death of S^{r} Peter Soame for I know he had reason to think he meant him kindly at his death, & L^{y} Cremorne promis'd to write me word if it proved so. Mrs. Clayton has however left something to every one of the younger Children w^{ch} I am glad of. But an addition would not have been disagreeable to any of the family & L^{y} Cremorne remaining silent makes me fearful. Your Visit at Burley was taken most kindly L^{d} Win: in a letter to L^{y} Charlotte named it & lamented he c^{d} not see more of you. I am truly grieved for poor S^{r} George Howards loss. a stroke of that nature at his time of life is the end of all comfort & I find he feels it most sensible pray when you see any of the family say I enquire after them

Miss Baker has just had a Horse lent her by a Gentleman in this neighbourhood w^{ch} makes her very happy & she is to try it to day for the first time & take this to Sevenoacks for me w^{ch} occasions my finishing it in haste that it may arrive at least one day before y^{r} Sister's letter. I hope your acc^{ts} from America are favorable for the News Papers tell us much of their prosperity & I wish you to benefit by it. Your Sister Gr: says you are making Stoke delightful.

Jop: & In: send you their kind love

I am ever Yours Affect^{ly}

J. P.

October 24th 1791

[*Addressed*] John Penn Esq^{r}
Stoke Park
near Windsor

Members of the Peterson Family in the Publishing Business in Philadelphia between 1840 and 1890. George and Thomas Peterson, sons of Lawrence and Rachel (Ford) Peterson, of Pleasant Mills, New Jersey, were born, George April 21, 1785, and Thomas October 5, 1791. They came to Philadelphia at an early age, shortly after the year 1800, and engaged in mercantile pursuits. George married, January 9, 1812, Jane Evans, daughter of John and Rachel (Ridgway) Evans, of Philadelphia, and grand-daughter of Robert Evans, a prominent member of the Society of Friends. Thomas married, July 8, 1813, Elizabeth Jacobs, daughter of Charles Jacobs, of Port Elizabeth, Cumberland Co., New Jersey. Two sons of George Peterson, (Robert and Henry) and four sons of Thomas Peterson, (Charles Jacobs, Theophilus Beasley, George and Thomas) were at various times, between 1840 and 1890, a period of fifty years, engaged in the business of publishing books and periodicals in Philadelphia; and as there were so many persons of the same name in practically the same business at the same time, a good deal of confusion naturally ensued in the public mind as to "who was who." The membership of the various firms (there were four) was as follows:

1. *R. E. Peterson & Co., afterwards Childs & Peterson.*

Robert Evans Peterson was the eldest son of George Peterson. He studied law in the office of his father-in-law, the late Judge Bouvier, and was admitted to the bar. He also studied medicine at the University of Pennsylvania, and graduated at the end of the course, but never took up the practice of either profession.

About 1850 he entered the book publishing business in partnership with George W. Childs, the firm name being R. E. Peterson & Co. Two of their earliest and most notable enterprises were the publication of "Bouvier's Law Dictionary," and "Peterson's Familiar Science," both of which books met with a large sale. In 1854, the firm removed from Fifth and Arch Streets, to 602 Arch Street, and the name was changed to Childs & Peterson. Here, in 1856, they published Dr. Kane's "Arctic Explorations"; a work which met with immediate and unparalleled success, and brought large profits to both author and publishers. Some years later the firm discontinued business, Mr. Peterson retiring altogether from commercial life and Mr. Childs becoming, in 1864, the editor and proprietor of THE PUBLIC LEDGER, of Philadelphia.

2. *The Saturday Evening Post.* Published by Deacon & Peterson, afterward H. Peterson & Company.

Henry Peterson, also known as an author, the novel of "Pemberton" being perhaps his most popular work, was a son of George Peterson, and, therefore, a brother of the aforesaid Robert. About 1843 he became Assistant Editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*, then published by Samuel D. Patterson & Co.; and five years later, in 1848, he, in conjunction with his brother-in-law, Edmund Deacon, purchased the property, Mr. Peterson becoming half owner and sole editor. He was then about thirty years of age. It was during his occupancy of the Assistant Editor's chair that Bayard Taylor's "Views Afoot" first appeared as a series of letters to the *Post.*

The *Post*, under Mr. Peterson's management, proved very successful, the paper soon attaining a circulation of over 80,000 copies, a large circulation for those days. Mr. Peterson afterwards purchased his partner's share in the property, the name of the firm being changed to H. Peterson & Company. He remained in control of the paper for about thirty years, when he sold it to the late R. J. C. Walker. It was finally purchased by The Curtis Publishing Company, and is now enjoying a period of renewed prosperity.

This venerable periodical, *The Saturday Evening Post*, though the present name dates only from 1821, really has its roots in pre-revolutionary soil, for it succeeded the old "Pennsylvania Gazette," established by Benjamin Franklin in 1728. The first number under the new name was issued August 4, 1821, from the office once occupied by Benjamin Franklin, printer, back of No. 53 Market Street, the editor being T. Cottrell Clarke. Mr. Clarke was succeeded by Morton McMichael, who afterwards became editor and publisher of the *North American.* Among subsequent editors were Charles J. Peterson, Rufus W. Griswold, H. Hastings Weld and Henry Peterson. During the ownership of the latter, the office of the "Post" was at 319 Walnut Street. The old office, back of 53 Market Street, long since demolished, contained the identical press used by Franklin, now in the Patent Office at Washington.

H. Peterson & Co. also published, between 1860 and 1880, a magazine called "The Lady's Friend," edited by Mrs. Henry Peterson; and later on a magazine entitled "Peterson's Journal," both of which have gone out of existence.

3. *T. B. Peterson & Brothers.*

The firm of T. B. Peterson & Brothers was founded about 1840 by Theophilus Beasley Peterson, his younger brothers George and Thomas becoming partners about 1855. They were sons of Thomas Peterson; and, therefore, cousins of the aforesaid Robert and Henry. T. B. Peterson and

Brothers were the first publishers in America to issue a complete and uniform edition of Charles Dickens's writings. They were also the publishers of many of the other popular English and French novelists of the day, such as Captain Marryat, T. Adolphus Trollope, Charles Lever, Alexander Dumas, Eugene Sue, Mrs. Henry Wood, Miss Braddon and others; and of such American novelists as Mrs. Southworth, Mrs. Ann S. Stephens, Mrs. Caroline Lee Hentz, etc. They were the original publishers of the "Hans Breitmann Ballads," by Charles G. Leland. George Peterson died in 1861 (he must not be confused with his uncle George), and the two remaining brothers continued the business until the death of Theophilus in 1890, when it was discontinued. The firm was in existence a little over fifty years.

4. *Peterson's Magazine.*

Peterson's Magazine was started about 1840 by Charles Jacobs Peterson, a brother of Theophilus, George and Thomas, and a cousin, therefore, of the aforesaid Robert and Henry. It was published from the same building as that occupied by T. B. Peterson & Brothers, 306 Chestnut Street, though the firms were entirely distinct. It was a magazine of much the same character as Godey's Lady's Book, and at one time had a very large circulation, being read in all parts of the United States. Like Godey's Lady's Book, however, it was eventually driven out of existence by a newer type of magazine.

Charles J. Peterson was for many years a prominent figure in Philadelphia society, his town house at 15th and Walnut Streets, and his villa at Newport, Rhode Island, being the scenes of many brilliant entertainments.

ARTHUR PETERSON.

LETTER OF JANE MECOM TO HER BROTHER, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.—(Collection Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

BOSTON May 26—1785.

DEAR BROTHER

I recved you kind Leter Dated Oct^{r}. 16 about a fourtnght ago, by way of Philadelphia, with grat Pleasure as it gave me to undertand your Malady does not Increace upon you, but you always Represent your Afflictions as Light as Posable to your Sister because you know she constantly Greves for you, but I think I can Discover you to be in Pain even while you thus write, your Tenderness for me In that Respect as in all other Vertues far Excedes mine, for to my Regreat I Reflect that my Last Leter to you contained two many complaints of my Ill State of Health and Natureal Decays, which I sopose you had not Recved, but God has been beter to me than my fears for tho it has Indeed been a Severe Winter I have had Less Indisposition than in Ither of the two Preceding Winters I am however Dayly Looking forward to that State wich you wonce gave me a hint was more Proper for my contemplation than Seeking a New Place of Aboad In this world, however as it need not Impede our Journey to that beter country I am Strongly Inclined to Justfie my Project; as you have Profese^{d} an Inclination to Spend yr Last Days in your Native Place and I thought you had been so Long Used to Grandure in yr Apartments & Furniture you had by this time got a surfitt of them and would Relish a Plain Simple Acommodation of Just Convenancess which would take but litle time to Suply yr Self with, & you had I hoped a number of years before you.

Please God you Live to the Age of your Ancestors.

but this Scheme was before I heard of your Distresing calamity now alas I fear Every year & Every Day is a Burthen to you Exept you recive Som Amusement by the wonderfull Philosophical Discoveries lately made in France.

I have some times Fear^{d} as your old Friends in America have Died of so fast you would be so Attached to that country as not to wish to Return If your case would Permit.

you have heaped so many Blessings upon me I am at a Loss how to Express my Gratitude. I have a grat Deal of time to contemplate my happy State in aboundance of Perticulars and thought my Self Richly Provided for in all things nesesary for my comfort, the Premision you now send me to Draw on you for Fivety Pounds Sterling gratly Increases the Store; I accept with a gratfull hart for I know you give it with Pleasure, and have Acording Drawn the Bills in Favour of Jonathan williams or order I am alow[1] Six present which they say was as much as could be got Mr. Bradford has it & Pays me Interest for it as I did not Emediatly want it.

I have Put a New Pump into the well had it Emptied & cleaned to the Botom had a New platform Sink & all things it wanted but I had money anouf by me to do it.

would you think it Cap[t] Patridge that married Bettsey Hubard is Gone to be overseeer of the Almes House I have been to See them since they got there She apears chearfull & I beleve is tolarable contented Tommy Hubard is married to a Rich widdow in the country who he was a long time strugling to obtain & has conquered at Last. I have not heard from our Friends at Road Island a long time I have thought of Taking I Journey thare our friend Caty Greene Desiers me allways to Remember her to you when I write.

My Son Collas is now gone to the Eastward to bring a New vesel He is going to the West Indies in She is a Poor weakly wooman hardly Ever well Jenny mecom is still with us strong & harty so there is won in the Famely free from complaints.

we have had grat Bustling hear about the choice of Govener and I hear are Like to have none this year, but I dont Doubt you will see all the Papers so shall only add that with the most sincear Gratitude & Prayers for your Ease an comfort

I remain your Affectionat Sister

JANE MECOM

My Daughter & Grandaughter
Desire there Duty, my Love to Temple
& Benny if with you

(Addressed) His Excellency
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN ESQ[e]
Passy near Paris

INDIAN INVASION OF NORTHAMPTON COUNTY 1755–1756.—

During the Indian invasion into upper Northampton County Penna., between November of 1755 and February of 1756, the following Provincial troops were quartered in Nazareth and vicinity:

Capt. Lauback's Company of Saucon Rangers; companies of Captain Solomon Jennings, Capt. Doll, Lieut. Brown, Capt. Craig, Capt. Trump, Capt. Ashton, Capt. Isaac Wayne, Lieut. Anthony Miller, Capt. Arndt, Ensign Nicholas Conrad, Capt. Wetherhold. The companies, some mounted, did not muster many privates, from 15 to 31, and mainly engaged in scouting. Their casualities were light.

LETTER OF MARY HOPKINSON TO DR. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. (Manuscript Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

DEAR SIR

My Son Thomas will have the Honor to deliver this to you; shall I beg you will condescend to advise and instruct a young man; although honest and open hearted, yet intirely unacquainted with the world and the Dispositions of those whome it is his interest to please. any other man in your place and station I could not ask such a Favor of engaged, as you are, in such a multiplicity of Business and that for your country. But I know I write to a Gentleman who is capable of carrying on the greatest affairs and yet can attend to the most minute, whenever called upon by

friendship or charity you will answer both by this condescension and will add one more obligation to the many my family have received from you. Mr. Warren has been so good as to invite him to lodge at his House, his Goodness to my other son, and this new favor I shall never forget, it calls for my utmost Gratitude and my sincere prayer is, that it may be returned to him by the Father of the fatherless in Blessings seventy fold. and do you think, Sir I can Seperate in my heart the obligations I am under to you as the Instrument in the Hand of God in making me acquainted with such kind Relations—I canot—but shall with great Gratitude ever think my self

your obliged humble Servant

MARY HOPKINSON

PHILADA. Sept^{r} 6 1770

LETTER OF MARY DICKINSON TO HER SON JOHN DICKINSON. (*Logan Papers*, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

MY DEAR JOHNY

We have had many Alarming Accounts of the disorder which rages in town but I was willing to believe that if they were true you would have been down here before now—but yesterday one Cogill was here who is Just come down; A Sober man not willing to make the worst of it—He says it is A Malignant fever Much like A pestilence; is called a Spotted fever from the mortification that appears on the breast and Side at first but Spreads over the whole body—that it is in Market Street and Above it—I give these particulars that you may see what Just grounds I have for fears—you may much better conceive than I am Able to Express how deeply I am Affected by such an Account—how can you Answer to your own heart by running such an unnecessary risque—if you have no regard for your self remember a mother who will be one of the most unhappy living if you should be too negligent about yourself till it is too late—I don't know what to say—dare hardly think—either come down out of the danger—or let me hear by next post there is none—you must know what A painful week it will be to your most Afectionate Mother

MARY DICKINSON.

october y^{e} 9th 1762.

LETTER OF CADWALLADER COLDEN TO MAJOR GENERAL MONCKTONE. (Manuscript Collection Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

NEW YORK Feb^{ry} 21st 1766.

SIR

When I received the honour of your most obligeing letter, informing me of Your resignation of this Government, the public affairs were in such disorder, from the dislike the people had conceived of the Stamp duties, that I delayed answering it till after Sir Henry Moore's arival. This happened much later than was expected. The disorders still continueing after his arival I thought I could not write without mentioning of them but when I attempted it I found I must run into a longer detail than could be agreeable to you. This is truely the reason of my delaying to acknowledge the honour you have don me in approving my conduct towards your self.

The last years Accounts in the Secretary's office were not made up till a few days since My son goes at this time to town to finish with Mr. Watts.

Sir Henry Moore is not in an agreable situation. The disorders still continue, & it is not in his power to suppress them. I am in the country in hopes of passing the litle remainder of life at ease. If I preserve the honour of any degree of your esteem I shall think my self happy.

I have the honour to be with the greatest respect

Sir

Your most obedient & most humble Servant

MAJOR GENERAL MONCKTONE CADWALLADER COLDEN

Letter of Thomas Penn to Peter Collinson. (Manuscript Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

Dear Friend

I have had a good Sale for my Cargo of Seeds, and desire you will order John Bartram, if he sends any to you, to send me a box, if he does not he may ship it to me, and draw on me for the money here, but I would not have him send so large a quantity of the Tulip Tree Cones, or Gum as he did last. I ought to ask your pardon for a trouble of this sort to Pennsylvania, but as you have other of the same kind, hope you will not find it any great addition, and I assure I shal be glad at all times to shew my self

Your very affe^te^ Friend

T. Penn

Spring Garden
July 4.
(Addressed) For
Mr. Peter Collinson
at the Red Lyon
in Grace Church Street

Lititz, Lancaster Co., Penna. From the records of the little town of Lititz, the following items have been selected:—

1774. *July* 7.—A public advertisement having summoned all the freeholders of this country to meet at Lancaster on the 9th. inst., for an election of a Committee and Deputies to Congress in Philadelphia, a meeting was held with the freeholders to consult what should be our position in the serious conjuncture what has arisen between the Colonies and the mother country.

July 20.—A printed notice was received that at the meeting of freeholders in Lancaster, it had been resolved, in order to assist the army in Boston, that a collection should be taken up in this County in order to purchase supplies for it, and that a collector would shortly arrive to receive our contributions.

1775. *Febry* 27.—In a meeting of the council attention was drawn to the measure adopted by Congress regarding the use of Tea, which is now strictly inforced throughout the land. It was resolved that the sale of Tea in our store shall cease.

April 29.—News was received of the bloody action between the American and Royal troops at Bunker Hill.

June 11.—The two Township Committeemen have appointed a meeting at the inn, and have asked for the appointment of six advisory members, in case of any disturbance of the peace which may be threatened or actually occur.

July 20.—The day of fasting and prayer, appointed by the Continental Congress throughout the American provinces, was observed today.

August 2.—The militia company of the township, drilled on the Lancaster road near the inn.

October 1.—At Lancaster there was an election for Representatives of the Province. A great multitude of people assembled.

At the close of the year, the total population of the town was 319.

Letter of Anthony Benezet to Benjamin Franklin. (Manuscript Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

Philadelphia y^e^ 12^th^ of 7^th^ mo 1781

Having several times attempted to get intelligence by letter from my kindred at St. Quentin, in Picardie, the place of my nativity I take the liberty to trouble thee, my kind Friend, with the inclosed Packet for M.

Debrissac, my near kinsman, one of the principal traders there; a person whose acquaintance would, in several respects, be agreable to thee; requesting thy kind assistance in the conveyance to its destination. As also thy kind advice to him of the safest mode of making me an answer I wrote thee at large by the Ship Franklin, about seven months past, as also by our cousin John Benezet, in the Shillely, which we much fear is lost. I shall be very glad to hear from thee when time & occasion will permit. With love I remain thy affectionate friend

ANTHONY BENEZET

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
(Addressed) MON AMI

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
Paris

LETTER OF WILLIAM PENN TO SAMUEL CARPENTER. (Manuscript Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

BRISTOLL. 27: $\frac{m}{2}$ 98.

DR. FRIEND.

I have not heard from thee of a long time, but by a lett^{r} from P. Ford from London, that my Bills are protested, for so small a sum as 315lb, or there abouts, drawn on thee, S. Jenings &c: w^{ch} has done me, y^{e} greatest Injury in my Credit, I ever Sustained, tho the boott promest me by thee, J. Longhurst & Gr: Jones, was never payd me, nor a farthing allowed me for my expences to England, & for y^{e} Suit agst Ld: Baltimore, which the Govermt. Engaged that I should be payd, & though I have some thousands due to me upon y^{e} score of quitrents. this makes my heart heavy, & my way dull to you y^{t} finde, after all my expences, sufferings & losses, I am no more vallued or regarded. Dr. Frd. In a strange place I should not meet with so mean a treatmt. But I shall say no more at present of y^{t} this comes by a son of Isaac Penington, & my Dr. Deceased wifes half Bro^{r} whom I have made Surv^{r} Gen^{el} being Mathematticall, more than tradeing, so gave it over, haveing also, great losses. I desire thee & frds. Entreat him kindly, & let him borde, at a good house, for truth & entertainm^{t}. He has much to say, in my name, about Divers things, y^{t} are in his Instructions to be perticular upon. to whom I referr thee, & In whom, I hope thou & frds will finde satisfaction. which with my love in y^{e} truth to thee & thy honest wife, & truly good frds, is all now from

Thy assured friend

W. P.

For my esteem^{d}
Friend SAM^{ll}
CARPENTER at
Philadelphia.

LETTER OF LŒTITIA PENN TO HANNAH CALLOWHILL, 1695. (Manuscript Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

WORMINGHURST y^{e} 12^{d} 10 ^{mo} 95.

DEARE & RESPECTED FRIEND

Please to give me leave to salut thee with y^{e} true love and esteem which I am sure thou deserves from me, and which I hope I shall always be ready to pay thee, for I desire thee to believe, y^{t} tho I am not much in words and less in writing, I have great pleasur in thinking how easy and happy I shall be in y^{e} enjoyment I promess my self of thy company, w^{ch} I can truly say I prefer before any other settlement. And if I may be so bold, I must tell thee y^{t} at my fathers first coming from Bristoll ten mounths since, tho I kept it to my self, I perceived which way his inclinations was going, and y^{t} he had entertained an inward & deap affection for thee, by the character he gave of thee and pleasure he took to recommend thee for an example to others. And therefore I was not a little desirous to see

Bristoll for thy sake, & I am sure I was not disapointed, for ever since my esteem for thee has encreased, and my fathers designe been more and more plesant to me: And what my Brother told me he sayd to thee in my name was but a little of that respect & duty I shall, I hope, be always ready to show to thee; and what I canot express in words, I shall endeavour my deeds shal supply. Indeed I did not think I was so much in thy debt as my father, by biding me read R. S. letter, in thine and his wifes name has convinced me I am, but more for the kinde expressions he tells me thou are pleased to bestow upon me, and tho I do not deserve them I will endeavour to do so. My Brothers present thee with their respects, & I desire thou wilt please to give theirs with mine to thy father and Mother, and to except them thy self from

Thy very affectionate and
Respectfull Friend

Lœtitia Penn.

While I was writing this, my
father received a letter from thyn,
and was very glad to hear of all your
welfaire & dearly salute him & thy Mother,
and thee, he says, with a double portion.

Letters to Benjamin Franklin, while in England.—(Manuscript Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

Jan. 27. 1775.

Sir

the person who applied yesterday on the Subject of Establishing a Paper-hanging Manufactory in America, begs he may not be esteem'd impertinent in requesting you will please to favor him with the time when he may wait for the line of recommendation (to the proper Gentlemen) you was pleas'd to offer to Sir

Yr Most Obedt Hble Servt

Chas Edwards.

The opera interfering obliges Mrs French to put off her Music till Saturday 6th June when she hopes to have the favor of seeing Docr Franklin.
Saturday 30th May.

Mrs French understands that Docr Franklin dines with the Bishop of St Asaph's to morrow hopes he will do her ye favor of dining with her on Wednesday or Thursday, both days will be giving her a double pleasure, she has provided chess players for each day.
Monday 17th June.

Mrs. Jackson's Affects Compe to Miss Rigale, not having it in her power to Answer her very Obliging Letter, Sends two very respectable Personages to her as Humble Servts Who she Intreats her to receive with kindness Introduce to Pappa, particularly Doctr Franklin who is a very particular Friend of Mr & Mrs. Jackson & on whoes Acct she has taken this Liberty, she is certain the Doctr will be a Sincere Admirer of the Young Ladies but Miss Martin Vows Vengence if they should prove Rivals. The Coach waits to take us to a Card Party this Charming Cool Weather. how we Envey our Dr Friends at Darby their Country Retreat or rather how we wish to Enjoy it with them, best Affections to Pappa & Mamma
Genl Post Office
June 18, 1772.
(Addressed) To
Miss Rigale
at Darnley Hall near
Darby.

LETTER OF JAMES STEEL, containing Lancaster County data of interest.

PHILAD^{A} 24″ 1717.

to ffrd Js. TAYLOR

Jn°ffunk & Christian Heer applyd yesterday on behalf of their Countrymen that are lately arriv'd for Several pcals of Land near their Settlem^{ts} but before I could have the Consent of the Comm the time is so farr spent that I cannot get the Warr^{ts} Ready being just taking horse for Duck Creek. however they design of being upon Surveying there about in to little time as thou Mentioned when here. Thou may lay out for ye following persons the several parcells of Land und^{r} mentioned are.

For Henry ffunk & John ffunk, ...	5 or 600	Ar.
Abraham Heer	4 or 500	"
Hans Pupath^{ar} Jacob Pupath^{r} & Pet. Swear	1000	"
Christian Hearsey	400	"
Hans Huber	300	"
Nick Houser	200	"
Hans Burgholder	700	"
Michael Shank	700	"
Henry Pare	500	"

The Warr^{ts} for ye above Land will be Ready in the Office, and it is again ordered by ye Com^{rs} that no Return or Survey be made to any Body without their Bonds taken at ye Same time J. L. says his coming up will be so very uncertain &c.

J. S.

Thou need not insist on these men's bonds because they are to pay down their money without delay.

EXTRACTS FROM NORRIS PAPERS, PROVINCIAL ACCOUNTS, HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—

The Province of Pennsylvania to Henry Willis Dr.

To thirty-five Days of his Boreing Mill and gun smith shop at tin shillings pr Day

£	S—D.
17	10—0.

(*Endorsed*)

I do Certify that the within is a just account

WILLIAM HENRY,

(No date: probably between 1755 & 1762.)

IN ASSEMBLY, Septr. 24, 1756.

Pay to Benjamin Franklin, or Order, the Sum of Two hundred and Ten Pounds, Thirteen Shillings and Nine pence Half penny, being the Ballance of his Account for Expences paid by him for Establishing a Post between Winchester and Philad^{a} in Pursuance of Resolve of the House; and for Postage of Letters to the Army under the late General Braddock.

Signed by Order of the House

£210 : 13, 9½ ISAAC NORRIS

Speaker

To SAMUEL P. MOORE ESQ.

Provincial Treas^{r}

[*Endorsed*]

Rec^{d} March 17, 1757 of Cha. Norris Esq^{r} the within Sum of Two Hundred and Ten Pounds Thirteen Shillings and nine pence half penny—But in Case the Provincial Treasurer shall not have Money come to his Hands to repay the same into the Loan Office before the Committee of Assembly proceed to sink the first Payment of the 80,000£ I do promise and oblige myself to repay the same.

B. FRANKLIN.

The First Edition of "Hail Columbia."—To the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography for April, 1910, I contributed an inquiry as to the first publication of "Hail Columbia," occasioned by the Government report of Mr. Oscar G. T. Sonneck upon the origin of our National Songs, in which he had failed to identify the original edition of Judge Hopkinson's composition. In my inquiry I tentatively identified the original edition as a double leaf of sheet-music, with a mutilated profile portrait of Washington, *pasted at the top*, in the Baker Collection of Washingtoniana, belonging to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, ascribing it to the Musical Repository, of Benjamin Carr, Philadelphia, as publisher, from its inherent characteristics taken in connection with Carr's advertisement, in the papers of the day, of the publication of the song. Since its appearance in print my inquiry has brought forth further facts that seem to prove conclusively that I was correct in identifying the copy of "The New Federal Song Adapted to the President's March," in the Historical Society's possession, as the original first edition, and that it was published by B. Carr, at his Musical Repository in Philadelphia.

In the first place I find that the profile of Washington on that double leaf sheet of music is a much mutilated and disfigured worn impression of Hart 157, (Catalogue of the Engraved Portraits of Washington. By Charles Henry Hart. New York, The Grolier Club, 1904.) which it was impossible to recognize by carrying in the mind, and I did not have the two together for comparison. The impression described under Hart 157, was *printed upon* a piece of music in the Washington collection of Chief Justice James T. Mitchell, entitled "The Battle of Trenton. A Sonata for the Piano Forte. Dedicated to General Washington. New York, Printed & Sold by James Hewitt at his Musical Repository No. 131 William Street. B. CARR PHILADELPHIA & J. Carr Baltimore—Price 10s."

This copy had belonged to Eleanor Custis, grand-daughter of Mrs. Washington, and was published, according to its advertisement, in 1797, the title being reproduced, in fac-simile, for the Sale Catalogue of the Mitchell Collection, Philadelphia, January 16, 1906, when it was sold, Lot 145, for $303, and now is owned by Mr. C. W. McAlpin, of Princeton University.

This is not all. I have also seen another piece of music with the same portrait of Washington *pasted at the top*, entitled "New Yankee Doodle. Sung with great Applause at the Theatre by Mr. Hodgkinson, New York, Printed & Sold at J. Hewitt's Musical Repository No. 131 William Street. SOLD ALSO BY B. CARR PHILADELPHIA & J. Carr Baltimore." This edition of the *New Yankee Doodle* was unknown to Sonneck and was published circa 1798. Here then we have "B. CARR, PHILADELPHIA," issuing both of these newly found pieces, one in 1797 and the other in 1798, each bearing a portrait of Washington identical with that on "The New Federal Song" in the Baker Collection, published also in 1798, which seems to settle, beyond peradventure, that Carr was the publisher of this piece also and that it is the one he advertised as being "ornamented with a very elegant Portrait of the President."

Charles Henry Hart.

Query.

Doctor Enoch Edwards:—Can any of your readers straighten out the genealogical muddle in the following letter that came to me from Charleston, S. C. "The portrait is that of Dr. Enoch Edwards of Philadelphia. Dr. Edwards was the brother of my grand-father, Maj. Evan Edwards of the Pennsylvania Line, who was Aide-de-camp to Genl. Charles Lee and also Adjutant Genl. to Genl. Greene, in his Southern campaign. Dr. Edwards was a Surgeon in the Revolutionary war and was attendant physician of Genl. Washington. He was a man of considerable social eminence in Philadelphia, being intimate with Jefferson, Tallyrand and others of that school of Philosophers. He had no children. On his second

visit to England, in 1795, he had his portrait painted by Benj. West and brought it to his wife. After Mrs. Edwards death, the portrait came into possession of my brother, Mr. Evan Edwards, of Charleston, S. C. Maj. Edwards and Dr. Enoch Edwards were sons of *Evan Edwards, who was brother of Jonathan Edwards the great Theologian, President of Princeton College and father of Esther, the mother of Aaron Burr.*"

As "Jonathan Edwards the great Theologian," etc., was "the fifth of eleven children and *the only son*" it will be seen that he had no brother Evan Edwards to be the father of Doctor Enoch Edwards. The Christian names "Evan" and "Enoch" point to the Welsh Edwards of Pennsylvania which is emphasized by "Maj. Evan Edwards" being "of the Pennsylvania line."

Evan Edwards was the "Mr. Edwards" who was Lieutenant of Alexander Graydon's company in Colonel John Shee's regiment, of whom his Captain speaks so highly in the "Memoirs of his Own Times" (Littell's edition, p. 133), where he says, "Though born in Pennsylvania, he was recent from a college in Rhode Island," and later (Id., p. 320) adds: "He was now the aide-de-camp to Gen. Lee with the rank of Major." Graydon also states that Edwards was Lee's second in the duel with John Laurens and that Lee left him by will one-third of his Virginia estates. Evan Edwards was commissioned January 6, 1776, first lieutenant of the 3rd Pennsylvania Battalion of Infantry, and on March 23 was promoted to Captain, becoming Major December 16, 1778, of Col. Thomas Hartley's 11th Penna. regiment, from which he was transferred to the 4th regiment of the Continental Line, January 17, 1781. October 27, 1781, Major Edwards was appointed by Washington one of the officers of the day at Yorktown, an honor reserved for those who were conspicuous during the siege. He retired from the service January 1, 1783. He was one of the defenders of Fort Washington, where he was taken prisoner, and was an original member of the Pennsylvania State Society of the Cincinnati, signing the Roll as "Major D. A. G. Southern army," but was transferred to the South Carolina society. He died in 1802.

Doctor Enoch Edwards was married at Christ Church, Philadelphia, October 26, 1779, to Francis Gordon, and in *Toner's Medical Men of the Revolution* is credited to New Jersey, as "Surgeon to Committee of Observation." He was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society, July 20, 1787, and was a particular friend of Benjamin West, as shown by the latter's letters in the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography for January, 1908, pp. 23–25. That Doctor Edwards was a friend of Jefferson is sustained by the Register of Jefferson's Correspondence in the Library of Congress, where there are letters from Edwards to Jefferson from Philadelphia May 7, 1793, requesting letters of introduction to persons in France, in response to which Jefferson sent him letters to Gouverneur Morris and Brissot de Warville; from Edwards to Jefferson from London July 30, August 3 and 16, 1793, and several from Frankford, Pa., between April 3 and August 20, 1801, in regard to a chariot Edwards was having made for Jefferson by "Mr. House," and also referring to a portrait of Adams, by Savage, that Jefferson inquired for. Whether Doctor Edwards was physician to Washington I do not know, but he certainly had personal relations with him for it was through Edwards that Robert Fulton sent to Washington his "Treatise on Improvement of Canal Navigation," which identical copy, with Fulton's letter and Washington's autograph and book-plate, now belongs to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Might not Evan Edwards, the elder, have been a brother of the Rev. Morgan Edwards, the prominent Baptist divine and historian, instead of the Rev. Jonathan Edwards "the great theologian?"

Lieut. Evan Edwards having come "from a college in Rhode Island" points that way, as the Rev. Morgan Edwards was largely instrumental in establishing the present Brown University; likewise Garden says (*Anecdotes of the Revolutionary War*, vol. 2, p. 337) he was intended for the

Baptist ministry. I find also that one "Enoch Edwards" was baptised June 5, 1769, in the First Baptist Church, Philadelphia, of which the Rev. Morgan Edwards was the pastor from 1761 until 1772. (Boogher's Repository, p. 16.)

I would appreciate any biographical additions to what I have, concerning Doctor Enoch Edwards, particularly the dates of his birth and death and incidentally some account of his family.

CHARLES HENRY HART.

DOCTOR ENOCH EDWARDS:—Since writing the above query I have found that Doctor Enoch Edwards was a delegate, from Philadelphia county, to the Pennsylvania Convention of 1787 to ratify the Constitution of the United States and consequently there is a biographical notice of him in Egle's Sketches of the Members, published in the PENNA. MAG. OF HIST. AND BIOG. (vol. xi, p. 74). From it I glean that he was the son of ALEXANDER EDWARDS and was born in Lower Dublin township, Philadelphia county, in 1751. That he was a member of the Provincial Conference held at Carpenter's Hall, June 18, 1776, and the same year served as surgeon in the Philadelphia Battalion of the Flying camp, and subsequently was aide on the staff of Gen. Lord Stirling. That he was a Justice of the Peace for Philadelphia from June 6, 1777, to August 16, 1789, and a member of the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention of 1789–90. That Governor Mifflin appointed him August 17, 1791, one of the associate or lay Justices of the court of Common Pleas, an office he continued to hold until his death at Frankford, Pa., April 25, 1802.

In the Autobiography of Vice-President Charles Biddle (p. 309) there is quite an account of Doctor Edwards, in which Biddle says, "He was as entertaining a man as I ever knew and although seldom well was always in good spirits and cheerful. * * * He was the thinnest man I ever knew." He told a story upon himself of going to see a friend who was not at home and when he told the man's wife who he was, she said, "Doctor Edwards! Why my husband said you were the thinnest and ugliest man he had ever seen. I don't think you are so very ugly."

The foundation of this inquiry shows again the utter worthlessness of family traditions even when the subject is family relationship. Who was ALEXANDER EDWARDS, the father of Evan and Enoch Edwards?

CHARLES HENRY HART.

Book Notice.

VALLEY FORGE, A CHRONICLE OF AMERICAN HEROISM. By Frank H. Taylor, Philadelphia, 1911, pp. 91. Illustrated.

A second and revised edition of this attractive and valuable handbook of Valley Forge, with upwards of eighty illustrations and numerous appropriate head and tail pieces of special design, has just been published, by the author and illustrator. Among the many new illustrations those of the National Memorial Arch, and the memorial to the troops of Massachusetts erected by that Commonwealth, will attract attention. Mr. Taylor has shown excellent judgment in the compilation of his historical data. A wide circulation should be given this "Chronicle of American Heroism." Copies may be obtained at 718 Arch St., or at Washington's Head Quarters, in the Park.

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OF

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THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN PENNSYLVANIA.*

BY PROF. EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER.

Nowhere can the early history of the abolition of American slavery be studied to better advantage than in Pennsylvania. There appeared the first formal protest ever made against slave-holding in North America. There arose the first organized agitation against it. In Pennsylvania was founded the first and greatest of the abolition societies. In Pennsylvania was passed the first law to bring slavery to an end.

Negroes were brought into the colony by the earliest settlers. Cornelis Bom, the Dutch baker of Philadelphia, writes about them in 1684; Isaac Norris and Jonathan Dickinson both refer to them; from time to time William Penn speaks of them himself. Hardly had they been introduced, however, when opposition to slave-holding developed. This opposition arose among the Quakers, and had begun before Pennsylvania was founded. In 1671 George Fox, travelling in the West Indies, advised

* The substance of this paper was delivered as an address before the Colonial Society of Pennsylvania at the Annual Meeting, May 3, 1911. It was then printed in the *Public Ledger* of Philadelphia, May 7, 1911, from which, by permission of Mr. George W. Ochs, it is republished with alterations and additions.

NOV 5 1912

Friends to treat their negroes kindly, and to set them free after a certain time of servitude. Four years later William Edmundson asked how it was possible to reconcile with Christ's teaching the practice of holding slaves without hope or expectation of freedom.

Nevertheless there is no doubt that at first the Quakers were the principal slave-holders in Pennsylvania, and probably owned more negroes than any other people in the colony. But after a while some of them began to be troubled by conscientious scruples. In 1688 Pastorius and three associates, all of them German Quakers who had recently come to Pennsylvania and settled at Germantown, issued a memorable protest. In words of surpassing nobleness and simplicity they stated the reasons why they were against slavery and the traffic in men's bodies. Would the masters wish so to be treated? Was it possible for this to be in accordance with Christianity? What would the people of Europe think when they learned that in Pennsylvania men were dealt with like cattle? They desired to be informed whether Christian people could do such things. This was the first formal protest against slavery in any of the English colonies.

A little later, in 1693, George Keith and the Quakers who followed him published *An Exhortation & Caution To Friends Concerning buying or keeping of Negroes,* in which they declared that slavery was contrary to Christianity, and that masters ought to give their negroes freedom after some reasonable time. It is said that this was the first protest against slavery printed in North America.

For some time these protests seemed to have little effect, but after a while the results were seen. In 1693 the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia advised against the importation of negroes, and urged Friends not to buy slaves unless they intended afterward to set them free. In 1712 the Meeting sought counsel from the Yearly Meeting at London about the importation of negroes.

The answer was that there might come a day when it would be found dangerous to have brought negroes into the country. The Meetings in Pennsylvania then advised against it, and the records show that by 1740 among Friends such importation had ceased.

Many people, especially the Friends, now desired to keep negroes out of the colony as far as possible. This they sought to accomplish by imposing a duty upon negroes imported. By a law of 1700 the duty was made twenty shillings. In 1712 it was raised to twenty pounds. The amount varied from time to time, numerous laws being passed until the outbreak of the Revolution.

In general they accomplished little because of the interference of the English government. Whenever the legislature made the duty high, the authorities in England immediately annulled the law, since they had no idea of allowing colonial assemblies to interfere with the slave-trade, then carried on by the government's protégé, the Royal African Company.

Accordingly negroes continued to be brought into Pennsylvania, but the opposition of Friends toward slavery gradually became more intense. Some of them resolved not only to oppose the importation of slaves but to try to bring slave-holding within the colony to an end. During the earlier years of the eighteenth century these feelings were not shared by all members of the Society, and there is evidence that many of them had no sympathy with the agitation. Isaac Norris writes of a Meeting that was well attended and comfortable. All would have gone well, he says, except that some Friends of Chester warmly urged the question of negroes. But he adds that matters were so managed that the affair was hushed up. In 1738, after Benjamin Lay had published his abolitionist book, *All Slave-Keepers—Apostates*, the Friends of Philadelphia inserted an advertisement in the *American Weekly Mercury* denouncing it. Not a few desired to keep the whole subject out of mind.

It proved impossible to do this. There now appeared a band of militant reformers, very much like Garrison and his comrades a century later, who demanded the entire and immediate abolition of slavery. The first of these was William Southbe, who in 1712 petitioned the provincial legislature to set free all the slaves. The Assembly replied that this was neither just nor convenient. Southbe was followed by Ralph Sandiford, who published in 1729 his *Mystery of Iniquity*, an impassioned protest against slavery. He had aroused such hostility that threats of violence were made against him if he circulated this book, yet he distributed it wherever he felt that it would be of use. One of the early entries in *Benjamin Franklin's Account Book* is "Ralph Sandiford Cr for Cash receiv'd of Benja Lay for 50 of his Books which he intends to give away . . . 10" (shillings). The work was carried on by this same Benjamin Lay, earnest but eccentric, who for years did all sorts of odd things in Philadelphia to arouse pity for negro bondmen.

It is not easy to say how much good this agitation did. It certainly aroused hostility for the time, but it kept the matter before the public, so that gradually some progress was made, and some negroes were set free.

The first case of manumission seems to have been when Lydia Wade of Chester County gave freedom to her slaves in 1701; though the first will of William Penn, made in the same year, says, "I give to . . . my blacks their freedom as is under my hand already" . . , this to take effect after his death. It is known, however, that this will was superseded by another in which he did not mention his slaves. In 1717 the records of Christ Church show that a free negress was baptized there.

The freeing of slaves was probably checked by a law passed in 1725–6. "Whereas 'tis found by experience that free negroes are an idle, slothful people and often prove burdensome to the neighborhood and afford ill examples to other negroes," it was ordained that no

master should free his slaves without giving security of thirty pounds that he would see that the free negro did not become a charge to the community. William Rawle, president of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, afterwards said, "Our Ancestors . . . for a long time deemed it policy to obstruct the Emancipation of Slaves and affected to consider a free Negro as a useless if not a dangerous being" . . . It should be remarked, however, that Peter Kalm, writing in 1748, declares that, "these free Negroes become very lazy and indolent afterwards."

In spite of this law the liberation of negroes was continued. In 1731 John Baldwin of Chester freed his negroes by will, and two years later Ralph Sandiford made all his slaves free. In 1742 Judge Langhorne freed more than thirty negroes; in 1746 Samuel Blunson manumitted his slaves at Columbia; while about the same time John Harris, the founder of Harrisburg, gave liberty to the faithful negro Hercules, who had saved his life from the Indians.

It was among the Friends, however, that the work was going forward most rapidly. They had already ceased importing slaves, and most of them no longer bought negroes; but now strenuous efforts were made to have Friends free the negroes they already possessed. It was not easy to get them to do this. Many believed that in not buying more slaves, and in treating well those whom they had, they were fulfilling all possible obligations. But some would not have it so. As Anthony Benezet said at a later time, "Perhaps thou wilt say, 'I do not buy any negroes: I only use those left me by my father.' But is it enough to satisfy your own conscience?"

In the Friends' Meetings, where the subject was now discussed more and more, the members determined to frown upon any further purchases of negroes, and in 1758 they took the all important step of advising that Friends should manumit their slaves. They resolved that this advice should be heeded, moreover, since it

was agreed that those Friends who persisted in owning negroes should not be allowed to participate in the Meetings. From this time on the old records frequently refer to slavery. In 1763 the *Chester Quarterly Meeting Minutes* report, "we are not quite clear of dealing in Negro's, but care is taken mostly to discourage it." Three years later they add, "clear of importing or purchasing Negro's."

To carry out this work visiting committees were appointed to go to slave-holders and persuade them to set their negroes free. These committees are as remarkable as anything in the history of slavery. Self-sacrificing people who had freed their own slaves, abandoned their interests and set out to persuade others to give negroes the freedom thought to be due them. In southeastern Pennsylvania there still remain old diaries, almost untouched for a century and a half, which bear witness of characters odd and heroic; which contain the record of men and women, sincere, brave and unconquerable, who united a crusader's zeal with the quiet mysticism of the dreamer. They undertook to persuade a whole population to give up its slaves. The most notable of them was John Woolman, but nowhere can the work be studied better than in the diary of James Moon, his fellow worker and apostle.

There is no doubt that the task was a difficult one. Again and again the writers speak of obstacles which they had to overcome. There were some owners whom they could not convince. A report about George Ragan in the *Abingdon Monthly Meeting Minutes* for 1761 says, "as to his Buying and selling a Negro, he saith he Cannot see the Evil thereof, & therefore cannot make any satisfaction, and as he has been much Laboured with by this mg to bring him to a sight of his Error, This mg therefore agreeable to a minute of our Yearly Mg can do no Less than so far Testify agst him . . . as not to Receive his Collections, neither is he to sit in our mgs for Discipline until he can see his Error." Some acknowledged

that slavery was wrong, and declared that they would never buy negroes again, but said that they must keep those whom they had. Some dismissed the visitors with obloquy and anger. But in the face of opposition, personal hostility, and many unpleasant happenings the visits were repeated and the arguments were continued until as a rule the reluctant masters yielded. If ever Christian work was carried on in the spirit of Christ it was when John Woolman, Isaac Jackson, James Moon, and their comrades put an end to slavery among the Friends of Pennsylvania.

The completion of this work was largely owing to the firmness with which the Monthly Meetings imposed the penalties which had been denounced. In 1761 the Chester Quarterly Meeting dealt with a Friend for having bought and sold a slave. In 1774 the Philadelphia Meeting resolved that Friends who held negroes beyond the age at which white apprentices were discharged, should be treated as disorderly persons. The work of abolition among the Quakers was practically completed in 1776, when the resolution passed that those who persisted in holding slaves should be disowned. Since in Meetings questions were rarely decided except by almost unanimous vote, it may be seen that the practice was nearly extinct. This was almost absolutely so by 1780. "No Slaves among us and such of their Offspring as are under our Care are generally pretty well provided for," say the *Records of Warrington Meeting* in 1788.

This wholesale private abolition of slavery by the Friends of Pennsylvania is one of those occurrences over which the historian may well linger. Adam Smith, who published his *Wealth of Nations* about this time, asserted that the Quakers had given freedom to their slaves because it did not pay to keep them; and this was substantially repeated by a Pennsylvania scholar some years ago. It might indeed seem that this is so, and that slavery in Pennsylvania was unprofitable. In a certain sense this

slavery was not profitable. There never arose in the colony any plantation system; there were no rice-swamps or cotton-fields with their troops of slaves, such as might be found in Virginia or South Carolina. But in Pennsylvania throughout the colonial period there was always a scarcity of domestic servants and farm-hands, and it was in just such occupations that the slaves there were employed. In this work their labor was always profitable, because it was very difficult to keep white servants, and because there were never as many such servants as were needed. Therefore the setting free of negroes did involve a distinct sacrifice. And this sacrifice was not forced through by any violent hostility, nor was it caused by a revolution. It was a result attained for the most part by calm, steady persuasion, and a desire to obey the dictates of conscience unflinchingly. Certainly there are few more striking examples of the triumph of principle and ideal righteousness over self-interest. It is doubtful whether any people but the Friends were capable of such conduct at the time.

All the while manumission had been going on more slowly among the other people of the colony. A great impetus was given by the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, when the men and women of Pennsylvania were stirred deeply by their struggle for freedom and independence. At the beginning of the war some of the citizens of Philadelphia petitioned the Legislature to pass a law making manumission easier. Many now began to believe that all negroes ought to be free. According to an old manuscript a slave at this time was set free because "all mankind have an Equal Natural & Just right to Liberty." By 1778 there was a widespread sentiment favoring legislative abolition. In 1779 a bill was drafted, but it took some time to get it through. Public feeling became thoroughly aroused. Petitions were sent to the Legislature, and several letters were published in the *Pennsylvania Packet.* Anthony Benezet,

a well known abolitionist, visited every member of the Legislature. At last, on March 1, 1780, the bill was enacted into a law. Pennsylvania was the first of all the States to pass a law for the abolition of slavery.

It was an "Act for the gradual Abolition of Slavery." It provided that those negroes already owned might be retained as slaves, provided that their masters registered them before November first. Otherwise they should be free. In the future no child born in Pennsylvania should be a slave. If after the passing of the act children were born of slave mothers they could only be held as servants, and until they were twenty-eight years old. Moreover the statute of 1780 abolished substantially all of the discriminations to which negroes had been subjected in colonial days. By a law passed in 1700 negroes were not to be tried in the ordinary courts but in special courts for them only. Because of this negroes had no jury trial between 1700 and 1780. By the same law their punishments were made somewhat different and somewhat heavier. This was now brought to an end. In 1726 intermarriage with white people was forbidden in the strongest possible manner. By the same act negroes were not allowed to meet together, and were subjected to a number of minor restrictions. All of these regulations affected free negroes as well as slaves. By the act of 1780 they were swept aside. Negroes were now put nearly upon a plane of equality with white persons.

In the eyes of those who desired the destruction of slavery the act of 1780 had two great faults: first, it was easily evaded; and, second, it was an act for gradual abolition only.

It was soon found possible to evade the act. Some Pennsylvanians openly kept up the slave-trade. As late as 1796 a German traveller declared, "great ships full of slaves frequently come over from Africa, especially to Philadelphia." Moreover some masters separated families and sold slaves out of the State, or sold the children

of slaves into other States, where these children remained slaves instead of becoming free when twenty-eight. Some even sent their pregnant female slaves south of the line in order that the offspring might be born in bondage.

These practices were soon attacked, and the Friends and the abolitionists spared no effort to get a new law enacted. Accordingly in 1788 the Legislature passed an act to enforce and explain the previous one. The births of negro children must now be registered; husband and wife were not to be separated without their consent; pregnant female slaves were not to be sent out of the State; and the slave-trade was forbidden under penalty of one thousand pounds.

The abolitionists felt, however, that the greatest objection to the act of 1788 was that it abolished slavery gradually, not outright and at once. Under this act there might be slavery in the commonwealth until the last slave had died or had been manumitted by his master. The Quakers and the abolitionists, forgetful of the fact that hitherto the destruction of slavery had been a very gradual process, extending through more than a century, demanded that the Legislature set free every slave immediately. This they sought to procure in two ways: they attacked slavery in the courts; and they besought the Legislature to pass a new act.

First they attacked the system in the courts. The declaration of rights in the State constitution of 1790 said that all men were born equally free and independent, and that they had an inalienable right to life and liberty. On this ground in 1792 a committee of the House of Representatives expressed an opinion that slavery was not only unlawful in itself, but repugnant to the State constitution. Seizing upon this point the abolitionists resolved to make a test. Therefore on a writ *de homine replegiando* they sued a master because he was in possession of a negro woman. This was the once famous case of Negro Flora *v.* Joseph Graisberry. Coming before

the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in 1795, it was not settled there, but was sent up to what was at that time the ultimate judicial authority in the State, the High Court of Errors and Appeals. The records of the case have been lost, but according to a notice in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for February 3, 1802, this august tribunal at last decided that slavery had legally existed in Pennsylvania before the adoption of the constitution, and that it had not been abolished thereby.

Failing thus to destroy slavery, the abolitionists made renewed efforts to get the Legislature to bring it to an end. In 1793 the Friends petitioned the State Senate for complete abolition, and in 1799 they made an earnest appeal. About the same time citizens of Philadelphia petitioned, and curiously enough the negroes sent up a memorial asking that their brethren be set free, and offering to help pay the masters dispossessed. From this time on great numbers of petitions came to the Legislature, mostly from abolitionists and Friends. The Pennsylvania Abolition Society memorialized the Legislature year after year. At one time it seemed that something might be done. Many leading men took up the cause, and in 1811 Governor Snyder in his message referred to the galling yoke of slavery and the stain of it upon the commonwealth.

Yet in the end it was seen that the majority of the people of Pennsylvania believed that enough had been done, and desired that what little slavery remained should be extinguished by the working of the laws already in existence. It was found, then, impossible to get the Legislature to pass an act for immediate abolition. Frequently a bill was introduced for this purpose, but its supporters could never get it through. Sometimes it would pass the House and be lost in the Senate; sometimes it was introduced in the Senate, but lost in the House. The abolitionists did not lose heart, but after 1821 it was generally realized that the legislators would do nothing.

Meanwhile in order to do more effective work the opponents of slavery had built up an organization. In 1773 an Indian woman in Philadelphia asserted that she and her children were free. Israel Pemberton and other citizens became interested and fought for her freedom in the courts. She was presently adjudged a slave and taken away by her master, but the incident had made such a deep impression that an organization was formed to prevent such things in the future. Such was the origin of the first abolition society in the United States.

The Society was instituted in 1775, but did not really accomplish anything until its reorganization in 1784. After that time its work was effective and unceasing. Although the Society was new, its work was not very different from that which had been done previously. Most of its members were Friends who had long been opposing slavery. They were simply trying to gain strength by acting together. The official title of the body was "The Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, and for Improving the Condition of the African Race."

It carried on now some of the most aggressive work against slavery that had ever been seen in Pennsylvania. It was the Society which took a leading part in petitioning the Legislature to abolish slavery, and in trying to get the courts to declare slavery illegal. When it succeeded with neither courts nor Legislature, it tried to deal with individuals. Some it would persuade to set negroes free; others it would compel to do so.

In persuading owners to manumit their negroes the abolitionists encountered fewer obstacles than previously, since the value of slaves was less, and there was very generally a sentiment against holding them. Negroes now gained their freedom in a variety of ways. Sometimes they saved enough money to purchase their liberty. Some were freed by their masters on condition that they

should bind themselves to serve the masters for a certain number of years. An old record runs, "I, John Lettour from motives of benevolence and humanity . . . do . . . set free . . . my Negro Girl Agathe Aged about Seventeen Years. On Condition . . . that she . . . bind herself by Identure to serve me . . . Six years." Sometimes philanthropists would help negroes to raise their purchase money. Among the items in an old manuscript in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania are the following: "John Head agrees to give him Twenty Shillings & not to be Repaid . . . John Benezet twenty Shillings . . . Christopher Marshall 7/6 . . . If he can raise with my Donation enough to free him I agree to give him three pounds & not otherwise I promise Saml Emlen jur . . . Joseph Pemberton by his Desire . . . £3." Sometimes one negro bought freedom for another. In 1787 negro Samson purchased his wife and children for ninety-nine pounds. There were not a few owners, however, who asked no money. In 1791 Caspar Wistar bought a slave for sixty pounds "to extricate him from that degraded Situation." Some set free their slaves by testament. Whenever this work could be furthered, whether by raising money to meet the master's demand, or by persuading him to set his negro free, the members of the Abolition Society spared no effort.

In the service of what they believed was so righteous a cause the abolitionists adopted more questionable methods. It was found after a while that the act of 1780 involved a great many intricacies and fine distinctions, and that compliance with it was so difficult that a master doing his best to obey the law might be at fault upon a technicality. For example the law required all slaves to be registered. After a while the courts decided that the record had to be made in certain form, and that where the slave had not been so recorded, he was legally free. It then appeared that a great many law-abiding men had not registered their negroes in the way approved, and

were liable to the loss of the negroes whenever this fact was discovered. To find such cases and to take advantage of technicalities the members of the Society spared no pains. They were unwearied in searching for careless records, and they employed the best lawyers to prosecute the cases.

Because of all these things, then, slavery in Pennsylvania declined rapidly. In 1780 it is probable that there were in the State about 10,000 negroes, of whom nearly 6,000 were already free. In 1790 the census of the Federal government showed that there were 3,737. According to later censuses there were 1,706 slaves in 1800; 795 in 1810; 211 in 1820; 67 in 1830; and in 1840, 64. After this time the enumerators do not record any, but it is said that James Clark of Donegal Township in Lancaster County held a slave as late as 1860. Long before this time the system had really passed away.

So in the history of her slavery Pennsylvania is seen to have been fortunate. Realizing at an early time the iniquity of slave-holding, her people strove so far as they could to check the importation of negroes. Then while others temporized and lamented, they acted, and brought slavery to an end. As they had opposed it quietly, so they abolished it without any violence or sudden transition. Upon the life of this commonwealth slavery was never able to make any lasting impression.

SOME ADDITIONAL INFORMATION Concerning EPHRAIM MARTIN, ESQUIRE, COLONEL OF THE FOURTH NEW JERSEY REGIMENT OF THE CONTINENTAL LINE.[1]

BY EDMUND J. JAMES.

In the Historical Register of the Officers of the Continental Army published by F. B. Heitman, Washington, D. C., 1893, the statement is made on page 39 that Colonel Ephraim Martin, commissioned November 28, 1776, never joined his regiment. Heitman further says, that the rolls of this regiment are very incomplete and that it was broken up about July, 1778. In the alphabetical list in the same book, under Martin, page 286, the following statement is found: "Ephraim Martin was colonel of a New Jersey regiment on the 14th day of July, 1776; was wounded at the battle of Long Island August 27, 1776; appointed colonel of the fourth New Jersey regiment November 28, 1776, but never joined the regiment."

This is a good illustration of the inaccuracy of many of Heitman's statements. An inaccuracy which, in this case, he could easily have corrected if he had taken the trouble to drop a note of inquiry to the office of the Adjutant General of New Jersey, or if he had consulted the roster rolls of the Continental Army, by William Bradford, Jr., which show that Ephraim Martin was colonel of the fourth New Jersey regiment for the months of July

[1] See sketch of Colonel Ephraim Martin of the New Jersey Continenta line in the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY for October, 1910, page 480 and following.

and October, 1778, and for January, 1779, for which months the abstracts have been preserved.[2]

The facts concerning Ephraim Martin's military record, so far as they are contained in the files of the Adjutant General's office at Trenton, New Jersey, have already been given in the article published in a previous number of this Magazine referred to above.

It appears from this record that Martin was in command of his regiment with Washington's army during the years of 1777 and 1778 and part of 1779 at any rate. He was in the battle of Princeton, 1777; at Morristown; at the battle of the Brandywine, where he was wounded; at Germantown; at Valley Forge; at Monmouth; and, in general, as a constituent, first of Heard's and then of Maxwell's brigade, his regiment took part in all the important movements of Washington's army from the middle of 1776 through the years 1777 and 1778, being stationed at Princeton in November and December, 1778.

The legislature of the state of New Jersey, in 1778, petitioned Congress to reduce the quota of New Jersey from four regiments to three, on the ground that four regiments were more than New Jersey's share.

Congress accepted this view, as will be seen by the following report of a committee, to whom was referred the representation of the state of New Jersey, praying a reduction of their quota.

"The committee to whom was referred the representation of the state of New Jersey beg leave to report:

"That having considered the same, it appears to your committee that so much of the representation as relates to the supporting that state with a body of Continental troops is properly cognizable by, and ought to be submitted to, his Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief. And as to that part of the representation praying a reduction of their quota we beg leave to submit the following resolution.

[2] These roster rolls are preserved in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia.

"Resolved, That the state of New Jersey be requested to complete only three regiments of infantry in the manner recommended by the resolutions of the 26th day of February last, and that the committee of Congress lately at camp, do arrange the officers of the said state accordingly."[3]

On March 9, 1779, Congress called for eighty battalions of infantry, of which New Jersey was to furnish three, to be organized in accordance with the action referred to in the above report taken by Congress on May 27, 1778.

It appears that the fourth New Jersey regiment of the Continental Line was broken up in February, 1779, or shortly thereafter[4] and certain officers were declared supernumerary.

I have not been able to find out who actually undertook this rearrangement, whether a committee of the New Jersey legislature, or a committee of Congress. It was presumably the latter, for on Monday, April 26, 1779, there was presented and read to the legislature of New Jersey a

"Memorial and Remonstrance of Sundry Officers of the New Jersey Brigade left out as supernumerary in a late arrangement of the said brigade, setting forth that they have been illegally deprived while new officers have been made, and praying redress of such grievances."

This Memorial was read a second time April 27, 1779, and referred to a committee of conference. This committee made a report on April 29th and it was resolved that a remonstrance should be made to Congress upon the

[3] See Papers of the Continental Congress, 20, I, Folio 315, in the Library of Congress.

[4] Although the state did not take definite action providing for three regiments until June 9, 1779. The arrangement of officers in these regiments evidently continued to make trouble, as the Congress of the United States appointed a committee in the summer of 1780 to make an arrangement for the officers of the first, second and third regiments of the New Jersey Line, which arrangement was approved by the New Jersey legislature September 26, 1780.

practice of appointing officers without the participation of the authority of the state.

Seemingly, however, nothing came of this remonstrance. From this time on, all references are to "the *three* regiments of this state in the service of the United States," instead of the *four* as hitherto. Various references are to be found in the acts of the legislature of New Jersey to the "late arrangement" by which the four regiments were reduced to three. Thus on April 30 a resolution was passed that the sum of 200 pounds be paid for "cloatheing," to each officer, who at the time when the "late arrangement" of the Brigade in this State in the service of the United States was made, did belong, or for one year previous thereto, had belonged to the said Brigade.

Presumably Ephraim Martin was declared "supernumerary" in this "late arrangement," although I have not been able to find any definite statement to this effect. He may have resigned from the service altogether, though the Adjutant General's office at Trenton wrote me that Ephraim Martin was "Super-numerary from February 11, 1779, until the close of the war."

If this is correct, and it is so presumably, Martin was in the Continental army from the time of his commission November 28, 1776, until February 11, 1779, a little over two years and two months.

He had been in active service, however, for a little more than one year and four months before in the State troops and State militia.

In the library of the New Jersey Historical Society at Newark, in a volume entitled "Provincial Congress Papers, 1776," there is an unpublished paper numbered 126 containing the following information.

"July 26, 1775. The officers chosen in the towns of Upper Hardwick, Newtown, Wantage, and Hardiston, agreeably to the direction of the Provincial Congress, met by appointment at the house of Ephraim Martin to chuse field officers."

Then follows the list of captains, the first and second lieutenants and ensigns for thirteen companies.[5]

And the further statement that the following field officers were chosen:

Ephraim Martin, Colonel;
Daniel Harker, Lieutenant-Colonel;
John B. Scott, Major;
Aaron Hankinson, Second Major.

It will thus be seen that Martin's official connection with the Revolutionary Army began July 26, 1775, as colonel of the second Sussex County regiment of militia.

According to another paper, numbered 125 in the same volume, the first Sussex regiment had been organized four days before, that is, July 22, at the home of Abram McKinney by the election of William Maxwell as colonel.

That Martin was not idle in his new office is evident from the following extract from *Holt's Journal* of December 28, 1775:

"December 26. This morning about four hundred of the militia of Sussex County, New Jersey, under the command of Colonel Ephraim Martin and Marsh Thompson assembled in Newtown and from thence proceeded in good order and regularly in quest of tories, a considerable number of whom, inhabitants of that county, had entered into a combination and agreement not to comply with any congressional measures. We hear about forty are taken, most of whom have recanted, signed the association, and professed themselves sons of liberty, being fully convinced of their error. Two or three who remained incorrigible are to be presented to the Congress to be dealt with."

When, on June 3, 1776, Congress called on New Jersey for 3300 troops to reinforce the army in and about New

[5] These officers had already been chosen by the respective companies, in accordance with a law of the state of New Jersey, of June 3, 1775, providing that one or more companies should be raised in each township which should choose their own officers. These companies were to be grouped into regiments and the company officers of such regiments when organized were to choose the field officers of the same.

York, the state of New Jersey ordered out, June 14, 1776, five battalions of eight companies each, under Brigadier General Heard for this service. Colonel Ephraim Martin was in command of one of these battalions, consisting of four companies from Morris County and four from Sussex County, and they took part in the operations on Long Island, where Ephraim Martin was wounded in the breast at an outpost on the day before the battle of Long Island. He had already received his commission as colonel in the state troops of New Jersey, dated June 14, 1776.

When Congress in 1776 called for eighty-eight battalions of infantry and assigned four battalions as New Jersey's share, the State decided to recruit three of the battalions from the State regiments which had already been sent to the north of Albany and to recruit the fourth battalion from Heard's brigade at New York.[6]

Of this fourth battalion Ephraim Martin was appointed colonel and received his commission as of November 28, 1776. He resigned his commission in the State troops when he entered the Continental Line.

At some time during the war Martin removed his residence from Sussex County to Somerset County; possibly while the army was encamped about Morristown. Mrs. Colonel Martin seems to have bestirred herself also in behalf of the American cause as appears from the following extract from the *Pennsylvania Packet* of July 8, 1780:

"July 4, 1780.—The ladies of Trenton are promoting a subscription for the relief and encouragement of those brave men of the Continental army, etc." The committee consisted of ladies in the various counties. The following were from Somerset County:

Lady Stirling,
Mrs. General Morris,
Mrs. Colonel Martin,
Mrs. Attorney General Pattison,
Mrs. R. Stockton.

Compare Notes, etc., of the General Assembly of New Jersey, September 30, 1776.

Martin did not long remain out of the service of the state. He was elected a member of the Council, *i.e.*, the upper house of the New Jersey legislature, for Somerset County, on October 12, 1779, and was present, as the minutes show, during the session which began October 26th of that year. He was a member of the Council from Somerset for ten years continuously, from 1781 to 1790.

He moved later to New Brunswick and represented Middlesex County in the Council in the years 1795, 1797 and 1800 to 1805, inclusive. He had been, it will be remembered, a member of the Provincial Congress in 1775 and in 1776 from Sussex County. He thus had the honor of representing three separate counties in the State legislature for an aggregate period of more than twenty years, at a time when it was an honor to be a member of the legislature.

While in Somerset County he lived in Bernardstown and was a member of the old Mt. Bethel Baptist church, where he was elected deacon in 1786. He joined the Baptist church of Piscataway, established in 1689, and located at Stelton, two and one-half miles east of New Brunswick, on May 27, 1795, by letter from the Mt. Bethel Baptist church. This probably indicates very closely the time at which he changed his residence from Somerset County to Middlesex County. It is noteworthy that if he moved to New Brunswick in 1795 he was immediately elected the delegate from Middlesex County in the State Council.

When Ephraim Martin died, on February 28, 1806, in the seventy-third year of his age, the following note appeared in the *New Jersey Journal*, published at Elizabethtown in the issue for March 11, 1806:

"DIED.

"On Friday morning last, Ephraim Martin, Esquire, a leading member of the legislative Council of this state, after a long and painful illness, in the seventy-third year of his age."

The following is extracted from a sermon on the occasion of his death:

"For several years he served his country on the tented field and in the public councils with faithfulness and to the best of his abilities, as none who knew him will doubt, for which his memory is deservedly cherished by all.

"As a citizen and a neighbor he was peaceable, just and benevolent, and duly exemplary in his deportment. When among his neighbors it was his delight to converse on the subject of religion. When at home he trained his family with a pious care and conversed much with his Bible and his God."

Ephraim Martin left a will dated October 24, 1805, with a codicil of November 21, of the same year, disposing of considerable property. The will is on file in the Surrogate's office, New Brunswick, New Jersey, Book A, page 146. In this he mentions sons: Squire, Absalom, Jeremiah and Ephraim; grandchildren: Ephraim, son of Squire and "seven other children of Squire;" Ebenezer and Martin, children of Absalom; Abner, Jeremiah and Susannah, children of Jeremiah; Ocey, Ephraim and Patty (wife of Samuel Stites), Polly, wife of Cutter, and Elizabeth, all children of Ephraim; and Katherine Kennan, niece of his wife, to whom he leaves certain property, on account of her care of him and his wife during their illness. He does not mention his wife otherwise in the will.

His wife must have died before him, though her headstone in the old Piscataway town cemetery connected with the St. John's Protestant Episcopal church in Piscataway, on the road from New Brunswick to Woodbridge, two or three miles from the former place, shows her death later. The stone, which is still standing, contains the following inscription:

"IN MEMORY OF KATHERINE, WIFE OF COLONEL EPHRAIM MARTIN, WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE OCTOBER 5, 1806, IN THE SEVENTY-SECOND YEAR OF HER AGE.

FORBEAR, MY FRIENDS, YOUR FOND COMPLAINT,
YOU HAVE NO CAUSE FOR TO LAMENT;
FOR CHRIST, MY SAVIOR, SUMMONS ME
AT HIS COMMAND I MUST OBEY."

It is somewhat peculiar that she was buried in one cemetery and he in another, not far away. His body lies in the Baptist cemetery at the old Piscataway Baptist church, located at Stelton, two and one-half miles east of the court-house in New Brunswick. It contains the following inscription:

"IN MEMORY OF COLONEL EPHRAIM MARTIN WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE 28TH DAY OF FEBRUARY, 1806, IN THE SEVENTY-THIRD YEAR OF HIS AGE.

FAREWELL, VAIN WORLD, I AM GOING HOME
MY SAVIOR SMILES AND BIDS ME COME,
WHILE ANGELS BECKON ME AWAY
TO SING GOD'S PRAISE IN ENDLESS DAY."

It is of interest to note that Sussex County was greatly stirred on behalf of the cause of the colonists, although it was still a new and only partially settled region. It furnished more than its quota of men to the militia, state, and continental troops, though it was far removed from the scene of conflict. This was doubtless owing to the activity of men like Maxwell and Martin, who seemed to be indefatigable in recruiting men.

A diligent search was made in Sussex County, as in other counties of the state, for materials for munitions of war. A note is made in one of the newspapers of the time of the discovery of "a supply of flint exceeding promising, on a hill near Colonel Martin's and the brook called Beaver Run in Sussex." The Sharpsborough Iron Works were not far from Colonel Martin's farm;[7] and were important enough, as a possible source of supply, to lead the New Jersey legislature to exempt the workmen from military duty by law of October 10, 1777.

Martin seems to have had his full share of trouble and difficulty in keeping his regiment fully manned. Many men deserted for the sake of enlisting in other regiments in order to obtain the bounty, and patriots who disdained to accept bribes from the British commanders did not hesitate to desert from the northern army and enlist in

[7] See advertisement of "a farm for sale one mile from Sharpsborough Iron Works in Sussex County and an equal distance from Colonel Ephraim Martin's estate in Hardiston." *Pennsylvania Journal*, June 19, 1776.

the southern, or vice versa, for the sake of the emolument.

Martin advertised in the *Pennsylvania Journal* of February 19, 1777, for the return of deserters from the fourth New Jersey battalion under his command who had left the regiment on or about December 15, 1776. Again in the *Pennsylvania Gazette,* for February 19th and March 12th, 1777, for deserters who had left his regiment stationed at Morristown about February 1, 1777; a similar advertisement for deserters at Salem May 13, 1777, and finally in the *New Jersey Gazette* for December 2, 1778, and in a later issue of 1779, for troops who had left his headquarters at Princeton on or about November 20, 1778.

Colonel Ephraim Martin was not the only one of his family in the Revolutionary War. His son Absalom was paymaster in his father's regiment, having been commissioned in the Continental line on the same date as his father, November 28, 1776. He had his arm broken in a fight at Elizabethtown. When the arrangement was made by which the four New Jersey regiments of the Continental line were consolidated into three, Absalom entered the first regiment as lieutenant, and was later promoted to a captaincy. He served until the close of the war and had been in the militia before he entered the Continental line.

Colonel Ephraim Martin's third son, Ephraim, Jr., served almost continuously in the militia in which he became first sergeant. In his application for a pension, file No. 31, 840, in the pension rolls of the Revolutionary War, in the War Department, at Washington, Ephraim Martin stated that he was of Sussex County, New Jersey, aged seventy-two years, his application being dated 1832; that he had enlisted September, 1777, at the age of seventeen under Captain Beckwith; then one month under Captain McCoy in the regiment of Colonel Freelinghausen and Major Davidson, and was stationed at Elizabethtown to guard the stores. He then enlisted in the company of Minute men under Captain McCoy and was appointed first sergeant, fought at Connecticut Farms, where Mrs. Cald-

well was murdered, was in the skirmish with the British at Springfield on their retreat to Staten Island about June 1, 1780. Volunteered again in the company of Captain Manning, under Colonel Webster, and stationed in Middlesex County. Had a brother Absalom Martin, who was wounded at Elizabethtown; had a brother Squire Martin living at New Brunswick, New Jersey. He stated further that he was born in September, 1760, in Sussex County, was the third son of Colonel Ephraim Martin of the New Jersey Line, who afterwards removed to Somerset County. That in 1789, he, Ephraim, Jr., had moved to Mecklinburg County, North Carolina, and afterwards to Campbell County, Georgia.

The name of Squire Martin (another son of Colonel Martin) does not appear, so far as I can ascertain, in the list of the New Jersey militia or line in the Adjutant General's office at Trenton. But Sergeant John Martin, of Piscataway, Middlesex County, New Jersey, in his application for a pension states that he enlisted in June, 1776, in Middlesex County, New Jersey, for five months under Captain John Webster and Lieutenant Squire Martin in the regiment of Colonel Forman sent to New York. If this is correct, and this is the Squire Martin mentioned in Ephraim's will, Ephraim Martin, Sr., had three sons in the Revolutionary War.

In Paper No. 126 of the Provincial Congress Papers, above referred to, it is stated that Edmond Martin was captain of a company from Hardiston and John Martin was first lieutenant of another company from the same place. This, it will be remembered, was the home of Colonel Ephraim Martin also, who was elected Colonel of the Second Sussex regiment at the meeting at his house on July 26, 1775. In Paper 229, of the same volume, it is stated that Captain Isaac Martin was elected Major in the Second Sussex regiment.

What relation these three parties were to Colonel

Ephraim does not appear from the records of this meeting, but some light is thrown upon the fact from another Revolutionary pension record.

Reuben Martin, of Wayne County, Ohio, applied for a pension in 1834 at the age of eighty-five years. He speaks of serving in Sussex County in the company of his brother, Captain John Martin, commanded by another brother, Colonel Edmond Martin; was under this Colonel Martin in the battle of the Brandywine, where he was wounded and at Germantown, and was at Middle Brook May 10, 1778, under the same brother. He states that there were two brothers Martin in Washington's army, both colonels, one was Edmond.

Reuben's memory had evidently served him here a trick. There were indeed two colonel Martins in Washington's army during a portion of the Jersey campaigns, and at the battle of the Brandywine,—*viz.*, Ephraim Martin of New Jersey, who was wounded, and Alexander Martin of North Carolina, who was subsequently tried by court-martial for cowardice at this battle, but was acquitted.[8]

He was probably a cousin of Ephraim Martin.

Edmond Martin was later (1780) a member of the legislature from Sussex County, but does not figure in the army rolls except as captain of a company of Sussex County militia.

If Reuben's memory as to relationships was otherwise correct, it would appear that Ephraim, Edmond, John and Reuben were brothers, and of these the first three were officers in the second Sussex County of militia, and

[8] This Alexander Martin of North Carolina was Lieutenant Colonel of the second North Carolina regiment September 1, 1775; was appointed colonel May 7, 1776; was court-martialed October 30, 1777, for cowardice at the battle of the Brandywine; although he was acquitted he resigned from the service November 22d and returned to his native state. He later became governor of North Carolina and a member from that state in the United States Senate.

the fourth served four campaigns, 1777, 1778, 1779 and 1780, much of the time under his brother, Colonel Ephraim. He was sixteen years younger than the colonel.

As there were many other Martins in the Revolutionary forces, militia, state and line from Sussex, Somerset and Middlesex, it is quite possible that Colonel Ephraim Martin had many nephews and cousins in one and another of the New Jersey regiments, but the military records, so far as I know, do not give further information on this point. A Jacob Martin was captain in the fourth New Jersey continental line, commissioned November 28, 1776.

There are a few other references to Colonel Ephraim Martin which have come under my eye.

In Paper No. 128 of the Provincial Congress Papers, above referred to, under date of October 28, 1775, Ephraim Martin unites with William Maxwell in recommending certain persons in Sussex County to the Provincial Congress for commissions in the New Jersey militia.

In the *Pennsylvania Journal*, of March 19th, is a letter from Haddonfield, dated March 17, 1777, concerning an engagement which had occurred on March the 8th, which runs partly as follows:

"March 9.—Yesterday the British, supposed to be about three thousand strong, came out from Amboy and posted themselves on Punk Hill. They brought artillery and a number of wagons. They met near Carman's Hil] and Woodbridge. Colonel Martin was sent by General Maxwell to the support of the Americans."

In the first report of the Cincinnati Society, of New Jersey, with the by-laws and rules of the Society, published at Trenton, New Jersey, 1808, is to be found a list of the field officers, captains and staffs of the New Jersey line, as organized in November, 1776, and February, 1777, comprising the Jersey brigade in command of Brigadier General Maxwell. Ephraim Martin is given as commander of the fourth regiment, and on page 9 of the same book

he is mentioned as among those who received wounds during the Revolution.

Colonel Ephraim Martin's name appears in various deeds on file in Somerset and Middlesex Counties,—one at Somerville (Deed Book B, 471), dated December 17, 1800, of lands to "Colonel Ephraim Martin of the County of Middlesex;" a second deed of these same lands, dated March 5, 1801 (Deed Book B, 593), from Ephraim Martin and Katherine, his wife, of Middlesex, to Rune Runyon. Land was surveyed in Sussex County to Ephraim Martin December 26, 1761, in Hardiston Township of Sussex County, March 1st, 1785, and June 22, 1785. Lands in the same township of Hardiston were also surveyed for Edmond Martin about the same time. Edmond Martin of the County of Sussex, deeded on April 3, 1771, to David Newman lands situated in Hardiston on both sides a brook called Beaver Run (recorded in the city of Perth Amboy, Book A. B. No. 6, page 152).

Ephraim Martin, junior, probably the same person as Colonel Ephraim Martin, was a member of the grand jury in Sussex County in the year 1767.

Luther Martin of Maryland was probably a relative of Colonel Ephraim Martin.

The ancestry of Colonel Ephraim Martin is, in my opinion, not definitely known, but the following is given by one of our most careful genealogists as probable. Indeed, he considers it as reasonably well established. It will be noted, however, that the list does not include any of the brothers named by Reuben in the pension application noted above, except Ephraim, and it is quite possible that Colonel Ephraim and his brothers were children of Edmond, son of James, son of Joseph, son of John, one of the original associates in the Piscataway purchase at Woodbridge; possibly some one of the readers of this Magazine may possess accurate information on this point.

Genealogy of Colonel Ephraim Martin.

1. John Martin — Born 1620, died July 5, 1687 (was at Dover, N. H. 1648), came to N. J. as original settler in 1666, taking grants with Woodbridge settlers; colonized Piscataway Township. Married, 1646, Esther Roberts, born 1628, died Dec. 6, 1687; daughter of Thomas Roberts, Governor of N. H.

Children:

I. John, will May 25, 1703
II. Mary—b. 1649; d. after 1696; m. Hopencee Hull
III. Martha
IV. Lydia
V. Joseph
VI. Benjamin
VII. Thomas
VIII. James

2. Joseph[2] (John[1]) — Born 1657, died 1723; constable in 1690. Married, Nov. 25, 1697, Sarah Trotter, died after 1700, daughter of William Trotter, d. 1687, and his wife Catherine Gibbs

Children:

I. James
II. Joseph
III. Abigail
IV. David
V. Joshua
VI. Moses

3. James[3] (Joseph,[2] John[1]) — Born Dec. 14, 1680, died after 1721; married, Sept. 4, 1701, Hannah Smith, daughter of John Smith of Woodbridge, N. J.

Children:

I. Edmund—b. Mar. 21, 1701
II. William—b. Mar. 21, 1701 Twins
III. Abigail—b. Jan. 14, 1703
IV. James, b. Nov. 8, 1705
V. Ephraim, b. Jan. 25, 1708
VI. Hannah, b. Jan. 13, 1711
VII. Anna, b. Jan. 4, 1714
VIII. Grace, b. May 6, 1717
IX. Rosanna, b. April 29, 1719
X. Rosanna, b. Mar. 22, 1721

4. Ephraim[4] (James,[3] Joseph,[2] John[1]) — Born Jan. 25, 1708, died 1771; married about 1730 Keziah Runyon, born 1713

Children:

I. Jeremiah, b. 1731, d. 1804; married 1752–3 Elizabeth Person Caldwell
II. Ephraim (Colonel)
III. Humphrey, b. 1735, d. 1805; married Experience Piatt, 1756
IV. Nathaniel, b, 1736–7; married 1756–8 Mary Clarkson

5. Ephraim[5] (Ephraim,[4] James,[3] Joseph,[2] John[1]) — Born in Middlesex County, 1733, died in New Brunswick Feb. 28, 1806; married Catherine

Children:

I. Squire
II. Absalom
III. Jeremiah
IV. Ephraim

6. Ephraim[6] (Ephraim,[5] Ephraim,[4] James,[3] Joseph,[2] John[1]) — Born in Sussex County, Sept., 1760, died in Campbell County, Georgia, 1840. Served in the Revolutionary War. Married Mercy Alward

Children:

I. Ocey
II. Ephraim
III. Martha ("Patty"), b. May 18, 1779; m. Samuel Stites Sept. 14, 1794; d. Dec. 16, 1838
IV. Polly
V. Elizabeth (Cutler)

7. Martha Martin (Ephraim,[6] Ephraim,[5] Ephraim,[4] James,[3] Joseph,[2] John[1])

Married Samuel Stites

Children:

I. Keziah, b. April 2, 1795; d. Jan. 19, 1829; m. July 4, 1813, John Brake. Lived near Trenton, Illinois
II. Anna, b. Dec. 10, 1796; d. 16th of July, 1838; m. 6th of Feb., 1811, Anthony W. Casad[9]
III. Mary, b. 5th of Jan., 1799; m. 5th of Jan., 1817, William Lewis
IV. Mercy, b. 28th of Apr., 1801; d. Nov., 1808
V. Sarah, b. 12th of Feb., 1803; d. 7th of Mar., 1805
VI. Ephraim M., b. Jan., 1805; d. Dec., 1805
VII. Squire M., m. Abigail Cravens 23d Apr., 1826
VIII. John, b. 16th of Oct., 1808; d. 1846, Ridge Prairie, Ill.; m., 1828, Katherine Mace
IX. Martin, b. 8th Jan., 1811; m. 1830, Scott, who was born June 6, 1810; d. May 16, 1869; lived at Ridge Prairie, Ill., both died in Minn.

[9] See page 483 Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, October, 1910.

X. Charlotte, b. July 22, 1813; d. Dec. 18, 1813

XI. Isaac, b. Dec. 19, 1814; m. Martha Thompson; lived in St. Clair Co., Ill.

XII. Indiana, b. June 9, 1817; m. Reuben Rutherford, Oct. 20, 1836; lived at Trenton, Ill.

XIII. Emma, b. 15th of Apr., 1820; m. 24th Sept., 1840, Ora M. Curtis, lived near Trenton, Ill.

XIV. Samuel, b. Mar. 23, 1823; d. 1835[10]

The Samuel Stites, referred to in the above genealogy as the son-in-law of Colonel Ephraim Martin, was born October 31, 1776, near Mt. Bethel, Somerset County, New Jersey, and died August 16, 1839, at Trenton, Illinois. He was the son of Anna Butler (born 1752, died January 27, 1824, daughter of Amos) and Isaac Stites of Mt. Bethel, Somerset County, New Jersey (born 1754, died 1830), who was the son of William Stites of the same place, born 1719, died 1810;[11] son of William Stites of Springfield, New Jersey, born at Hempstead, Long Island, 1676, died at Springfield, New Jersey, 1727, refers to himself in his will as "late of Long Island Colony"; son of Richard Stites, born 1640 in England, died in 1702 at Hempstead, Long Island; son of John Stites, surgeon, born in London, 1595, died in Hempstead, Long Island, 1717.

The last three items are based on the record in a family Bible which belonged to William Stites of Springfield, New Jersey, great-grandson of William Stites, senior (1676–1727). The age of John Stites, surgeon, is rather

[10] Compare statement of Littell "Early Settlers of the Passaic Valley."

[11] This William Stites is referred to by James Manning, President of Brown University, in his diary, as living at Dead River when he visited him in 1780.

remarkable, to say the least, and lends color to the supposition that he may stand for two generations.

I have not been able to trace the Stites family to any locality in England.

In the history of Long Island by Benjamin F. Thompson, New York, 1843, Volume II, in the footnote on pages 53 and 54, there is a statement that "Edmund Titus, born in England in 1630, came from Massachusetts to Long Island in 1650 in company with one William Stites, then upwards of one hundred years old, who, it is said, came on foot from Seekonk to this place, Hempstead, where he lived to the great age of one hundred and sixteen years."

The records of the town of Hempstead themselves contain numerous references to Richard Stites of Westbury, Hempstead, Long Island. This Richard Stites, according to statements made in deeds contained in the town records of Hempstead, had sons William, John, Benjamin and Henry. Henry Stites is mentioned in a deed made February 28, 1700, as of Cape May in the bounds of West Jersey.

This family was prominent in the localities in which they lived in New Jersey during the eighteenth century, and many of the references in the current genealogical lists to Stiles should be to Stites instead. John, who was born 1706, and died 1782, son of William Stites (born 1676, in Hempstead, Long Island, died 1727, Springfield, New Jersey), was mayor of Elizabethtown. His daughter, Margaret, was the wife of James Manning, first president of Brown University. John's nephew, Benjamin, junior, was the founder of Columbia, now a part of Cincinnati, and the family has played a prominent part in the pioneer life of New Jersey, Kentucky, Ohio and Illinois.

WILLIAM LOGAN'S JOURNAL OF A JOURNEY TO GEORGIA, 1745.

(Continued from page 16.)

19th.—As Our Horses did not Come Over last night they Were this Day prevented by Rain & Wind till abt 3 o'Clock in the Afternoon and as it Continued to rain We Chose to Stay till Morning & kept Our Horses at Bath's Ferry in a Very Good Pasture.

We Were Well Entertained here & spent the Day in Co with many Gent of the Town, who were Very kind & Curt's and dined at this House mostly in a Clubb.

20th.—Sett Out this morning in Co with —— Roberts a Lieun'tt of a Privateer, but a Very well behaved for One in that station, and after Crossing a Small ferry from the Town to the House Where Our Horses were carryed to, We Mounted and after crossing Santee River twice came a Good House kept by One —— Thompson (a Yorker) where We dined heartily on a Cold Wild Turkey and after about an hour Rest mounted Again & Came about Dark to the Widow Weedlin's to Lodge, having rode abt. 38 miles this Day on a level Sandy Road, which tho' Very little Used they take a good deal of pains with in makg Causeways etc. We Lodged here indifferently but Could get no Bread, but Potatoes, not indeed at Thompson's but Rice Bread & that Exceedingly sour, but as I had been all day Very unwell with a Lax I Chose not to Eat any of it.

21st.—Arose Early and got Breakfast on Tea & Hoe Cake which Were got on Our Acct. & mounted abt. 8 o'Clock & Came to Hobkall Ferry which is 3 Miles Over to Charles Town by 12 & got Over in a Small Canoe, & left Our Horses the Tide not being made to get them over, and Came about 1 o'Clock to Rice Price's, a House

We had by several been recommended to for Lodgings, Where several Gentlemen Lodgers were just then sitting down to Dinner, and We sat amongst them at the request of the Landlord who then said he was quite full & could not provide us with any Lodgings, but after Dinner, He said He Could if We Would lodge together. This afternoon went to Jno Bedons, who had been arrived ab^{t}. 10 Days & sent to speak to Stephen Bedon, who happened to be in Town on Acc^{t}. of Tho' Jennis's Being Very ill with the Distemper of the [?] and after Some time Went to Jos. Wragg's Esq. to deliver some Letters we had from R. Strettle, and afterw^{ds}. to Jos. Shute, where We spent the Evening and supped on Fish, in C^{o} with Capt. Hogg, who was ret^{d} Prisoner in The Flagg of Truce.

Twenty second Day.—Arose ab^{t}. 7 o'Clock this morning and Breakfasted in C^{o} with the Rest of the Lodgers on Tea and after Wards went to Jn^{o} Bedon's & Several other places and abt One to Jos: Wragg's to Dinner, having been asked by him the Even^{g} before, where we Were Very Genteely & handsomely Entertained—had two Courses of Meat and after that a Desert of Preserv'd Fruit, they having no other here at this time of the Year, & After Dinner Walked in their Gardens which abound with fine Orange Trees, which bear plentifully, and they now take great pains to propagate them finding the Climate agrees with them & have Exported great Quantity's this Year to London & Elsewhere, One Ship having On board 500 chests Each Contain^{g} 300 & upw^{ds}. This Gent lives in the genteelest manner, has a large Family, but is himself very much afflicted with the Gout. . . . . After dinner went to Jon^{a} Scotts who tho' We had Letters to write did not wait before as he was very unwell & I believe wth the Distemper tho' he said not, After staying Some short time here Walked ab^{t} the Town a little & returned to Our Lodgings where we supp'd in C^{o}. with many others on Fish &c.

*23*rd.—Arose Early this morning and after Breakfast spent a great Deal of Time to get an Oppy to go by Water to Frederica, finding it impossible by all Accts to get their by land without a great of Expense Danger and Fatigue & also an uncertainty of any manner of Dispatch, but tho' We were at a great Deal of Pains could get none withoutt giving an Extravagant rate for a Pilot Boat, the lowest price they offered at being £150. Carolina Currency. . . . . Dined at Jona. Scotts who had sent his man to invite us, not being able to Come himself nor indeed was he able to be at Table wth us, We were handsomely Entertained by his Housekeeper & Capt Lindsay who lives with him.

After Dinner Walked abt. the Lower End of the Town, not Chusing to go the upper End as it was much more sickly. This Town contains abt. 1000 houses & many of them Very Large & Well furnished and is pleasantly scituated that a person may stand at his Door & see all Vessells come up Even from the Sea. It is Well Fortified by Two Large Forts at some Distance from Each End of the Town and two smaller at Each End of the Town, with several Bastions in the Middle & Curtain Lines mounted with abt. 38 Guns from 12 to 18 pounds shott & intrenched and are making several new Fortifications that will much increase its strength.

The People live in the Genteelest mannr & are Exceeding civil & kind to strangers.

Spent the Evening with our Landlord & several Gentlemen very agreeably.

Twenty fourth Day.—Breakfasted in Company with the rest of our Lodgers on Tea and afterwards went to enquire for a Passage to Frederica, but Could meet with none till abt. 11 o'Clock, Thos. Harding (a Person that had been by several recommended to us) come up from the sea side and We agreed with him for our passage and were to give him £100., he obliging himself to stay at Frederica a Week for us in Case we should Want to return. After

Dinner which was at our Lodgings, tho We had been pressed to dine out, We met y^e^ several Gent that had taken a particular Notice of us to take our Leaves & after providing several small matters for our stores and settling Acc^ts^ & selling Our Horses &c We took Boat ab^t^. 10 o'Clock at Night with a fair wind and after making some short stay along side of the Aldborough, Capt Hutton, a fine 20 Gun Ship that lay at Rebellion Roads We passed the Bar & stood to sea. I was Exceeding disturbed with the motion of the Boat as she was small that I could not sleep all night & ab^t^. Daylight began to Grow Very sick which I did not Mind so much as I otherwise should on Acc^t^. of the Fair Wind we had.

*25^th^*.—Our Wind still Continued fair & I very Sick all Day, so that We were Obliged ab^t^. 10 at Night to lye to till Day Break for fear of over shooting Our Port and going to Augustine, which is but thirty Leagues to seaward. . . .

*26^th^*.—Ab^t^. Break of Day we sett sail but I continued so Very sick that I neither had nor Could Eat or drink from the Time I Came aboard, but Our Wind still Continued fair, and We Were somewhat uneasy abt missing our port, having stood up to an Inlet which our Capt. & Comp^a^. took to be Augustine, but Were mistaken, and After firing 2 Guns stood off, and after Sailing ab^t^. 15 Leagues came off our Port which was immediately known by two remarkable Trees to the southw^d^. of the Inlet, and the firing of a Gun from the Look Out, which We answer'd and they returned it, We stood in for it Going to the southw^d^. of the Breakers, which lie off the mouth of the Inlet, and Came to the Look out ab^t^. half-past 4 o'Clock, where a Guard of ab^t^. 10 soldiers came down to Enquire from whence We Came and to call the Capt. ashoar to Enquire particulars, which is immediately conveyed by a man on Horseback. who constantly attends, to give the General or his Deputy Notice what Vessells come in or pass by.

This Inlet lies in the Lat. of 31 & 5 and is ab^{t}. 50 Leagues Distance from Charles-Town Bar and 20 Leagues to the southw^{d}. of Tibee Light-house near Port Royal. The scout also came down to Enquire what News, and afterwards our own Long Boat from the Guard schooner & afterwards Our Own Yawl from Town who towed us up ab^{t}. 5 miles in a Very Crooked River and ab^{t}. 6 o'Clock We Got to the Town & immediately waited on Capt W^{m} Horton (the Gener^{ls} Deputy) and delv'd our Lette^{rs} from Gov^{er} Thomas, & Stephen Beding from Charles Town.

Capt Horton rec'd us with utmost Civility & gave us full assurances of all the assistance in his Power in our affair, and would have us go to sup with him wth a Gentleman that had Engaged him, but I was very unwell with a Violent pain in my head, occasioned by the fatigue at sea & want of sleep & Victuals & went to Th^{o}. Sommers to lodge, which Was but indifferent y^{t}. I got but little sleep and my Pain Increased much.

27th.—Breakfast'd wth Captain Horton & Robert Williams acquainted him more particularly of our Business who rec'd us as before, & pressed us to which We gave an Expectation of and then Went to Our Lodgings.

Dined with Capt Horton who had provided very genteely for us & was Very fine in Conversation & is Very much of a Gentleman. After dinner Went on board the Brig^{e}. which lay moor'd out with a Cable head and stern, and afterwards Went to sup with Benj^{m}. Beden. (Stephen's Brother) who seems to be but a young raw Boy, and Were but indifferently treated and had aboundance of swearing, a thing too Common in this place, especially amongst the Commonalty, but We left the Company ab^{t}. 9, I being really Very ill with a Violent pain in my head, and went to Bed.

28th.—After Breakfast which We had at Our Lodgings, We Went to Benj^{a} Beden's to see Capt. Davis who was just Come to Town, and had a great deal of discourse with him to little purpose, and agreed to meet again in

the Afternoon, and went to dine wth. Clay a Merch^{t} of the Town, who had the day before invited us and were genteely Entertained with two Courses of Victuals very well dres'd, had plenty of Beer, Punch, Wine &c. Good Company and after dinner Went to meet Capt. Davis accord^{g}. to appointm't who would come to no Conclusion between Our Selves but agreed to Leave it to Arbitrators, which he said he would pitch on by ten the next morning and Parted.

Spent the remain^{g}. part of the Afternoon in Walking ab^{t}. the Town & Borders of it, to View the fortifications Buildings etc, in Company with Jn^{o}. Smith & Jn^{o}. Lawrence two young merchants of the place and spent the Even^{g}. at Capt. Horton's with several Gentlemen Officers of the Regiment very agreeably & ret^{d}. to our Lodgings ab^{t}. 9 o'Clock.

29th.—Breakfasted at our Lodgings in C^{o}. with Capt Rob^{t}. Williams of Port Royal who lodged also with us and afterwards mett Capt Davis accord^{g}. to appointm^{t}. and pitch^{d} on 4 Arbitrators but could get no Bonds in Town nor a prece'd^{s}. so that We Were obliged to apply to Capt Horton to draw One up for us, who gave us his promise & Went to dine with Lieut^{t}. Tho'. Goldsmith, who had invited us the Day before and were handsomely Entertain'd in C^{o}. with ab^{t}. 8 or 10 Officers of the Regiment, who shew'd us the utmost Civility & Good manners & after Dinner Waited at sundry on Capt Horton who we Could not find at leisure till Evening, when on a further discourse We found We could not legally appoint the Arbitrators ourselves but that the Judge of the Adm^{y}. must, and therefore deferr'd it in ord^{r} to draw up a Petition to the said Judge to be presented y^{e} next morn'g & Went at the Request of Capt. Horton to sup with him, the Judge & several others at Capt. Demmerys where we spent the Evening very agreeably & returned to our Lodgings ab^{t}. 10 o'Clock.

Thirtieth Day.—Arose this morning Early & draw up

a Petition to the Judge of the Admt^{y}. praying him to appoint Appraizers on the Vessell & Cargoe and Went to Breakfast with Patrick Hewston, [Houston] a Merch^{t}. of the Town & who seems much our Friend, and from thence Went to speak to Capt Davis to acquaint him of our proceedings, who was very much exasperated, & would hearken to no manner of Reason, but Came to an immediate Resolution to do nothing in the affair but to Continue to raise all manner of difficulty's, and went away in that Disposition of Mind.

Spent part of the morning with one Friend & Another till about 12 o'Clock when We Went On the Parade to View the soldiers drawn up Under Arms, being the Kings Birthday, when they went through their Exercise with a great deal of Regularity. and from thence to the Fort to see the Guns fired, and from thence Went & dined with Captain Horton, who tho' We had promised to dine with Benj. Beden the day before yet He would not be denied, as He always has on these Days all the Gentlemen of Distinction to dine with him, We therefore complied & had a handsome Dinner suitable to the Day, Left Our Company ab^{t}. two o'Clock and spent the Remainder of the Afternoon with several of Our Friends, but were sent for about Sun Sett by the Judge of Adm^{y} to Enquire ab^{t}. our Powers from the several Freighters and after We had satisfied him, spent the Evening in draw^{g} up a Rough Draft of Our Letters to Philada^{ia} & Went to Bed without supping ab^{t}. half-past nine.

October the 31st Day.—Breakfasted at Our Lodgings and afterw^{ds}. went in C^{o}. with one Friend or another About the Town and dined with Patrick Hewston accord'g to our promise, where We had Capt Horton's Company, & several other gent^{n} Officers, and afterwards took a small Walk & spent the evening with Capt Clay, Jn^{o}. Lawrence, Capt Donlubbon, & Gordon & after supper Returned to Our Lodgings ab^{t}. 10 o'Clock.

November the first Day.—Breakfasted at our Lodgings

and went to speak to the Appraizers ab^{t}. begining to unload & with much difficulty got a pair of long & Large Skids to put from the Bluff to the Brig. to rowl the rum ashoar On, for there is no other place so convenient and this permission of Land^{g} at this Bluff was a singular fav^{r} granted us by Capt Horton, for its a kind of Landing or rather made Ground to preserve the Fort King's Works being under-mined by the Water & no Vessell or Craft is allowed to Come there. We Gott things all in readiness by Dinner time & Went to dine wth Benj^{a} Bedon (Stephen's Brother) a young man that keeps a store for him, & who had often shewed us a great Deal of disembled Civility for I have much reason to believe him our Enemy, tho' he would fain carry a fair face. After Dinner began to unload & Got a few cask of Rum sug^{r} limes &c and in the Evening went & spent the Evening at Capt Ja. Mackay in Company with Capt & Lieuten't Demoney's and returned to Our Lodgings about 10 o'Clock.

2nd Day.—Breakfasted & Dined at Our lodgings hav^{g} spent the Whole Day in getting the Brig unloaded and supp'd with Patrick Hewston.

3^{d}.—Breakfasted at Our Lodgings where We staid the whole morning.—We spent in writing to our Frd^{s}. in Philad^{ia} by the Phila. Boat there being no place of Worship in this Place Except among y^{e} Dutch and dined with Patrick Hewston, took a small Walk in the afternoon returned to Our Lodgings & spent the Evening with Ja. Smith a Good natured young man, a merchant of the place, and Our Friend, and returned to Our Lodgings about Nine o'Clock.

4th Day.—Arose before the sun, all hands to Work, about unloading the Brig. & breakfasted at Our Lodgings, and dined wth Capt Horton who returned from Jekyl Island, a Plantation belonging to him and after spending the Whole in diligently unload^{g} the Brig and getting the Rum stowed away in stores which We with much diffi-

culty had provided, We went and supp'd at Our Lodgings being really too much fatigued to go Elsewhere.

5th.—Got all hands to work unloadg. ye Brig. before sunrise. Breakfasted at our Lodgings Dined with John Smith & Gordon and after a hard & diligent days Work We finished unloading & spent the Evening in Company with John Smith at Our Lodgings & Went to Bed about Nine o'Clock very much fatigued.

The Sixth Day.—Breakfasted at Our Lodgings and afterwards got all the appraizers together to weigh the sugars which Capt Davis like a Clandestine Trader made a Man bore with a long auger in hopes of findg concealed as he also Caused all the Brigs. Ballast to be shifted on the same acct. Dined with John Smith & Gordon (two Young Batchelors) who Entertained us with a Great Deal of freedom & openess of heart, & spent the afternoon in Examing our Papers, the Court of Admty being adjourned to the Eighth Day of this Inst.

7th.—After Breakfasting at our Lodgings We spent the Whole Day in settling our papers & find'g out all the Marks & Numbers & the Quantity of the Hogsheads of Rum & Dined at Our Lodgings & went to Bed abt. 10 o'Clock supperless

Eighth Day.—Breakfasted at Our Lodgings & spent the whole morning in finishing our Papers &c. & dined with Capt. Saml Clay (who invited us on Acct. of its being his Birth Day) & Waited on the Court Which was mett accordg. to its Adjournment, but no other Business was done than adjourng it till the next Day in ord. to appoint a fifth appraizer, the Other four that Were appoint'd not agreeing and Capt. Mark Kerr the Judge of Admty at Capt Horton's appointm't. not being much acquainted with Law, did not leave to proceed till he had spoke with Capt Horton who was Gone to Jekyl and to return the next morning.

Spent the Evening at Captn Mackays wth several Gent. Officers who still continue to shew us all the Civility

in their power and returned to Our lodgings abt. Nine o'Clock—abt. half past said Hour.

9th Day.—Arose this morning abt. 7 o'Clock having had a very restless night in uneasy sorrowful Dreams abt. my Dear Sisters Norris's Decease. Breakfasted at Our Lodgings and havg spent the morning abt. several indifferent affairs Dined at Patrick Hewstons in Comp. with several Gent. Officers & a Spanish Captain, Prisoner who has been detained here since the Spanish Invasion, and about 3 o'Clock attended the Court which were mett according to its adjournmt. & Captain Horton being returned from Jekyl they appointed Patrick Hewston a fifth appraizer, and adjourned to the 11e Inst at 3 P.M. Spent the Evening with Capt Horton, Capt Mackay & several other Gent at Patrick Hewston's, it being their Clubb Night & had Green Peas for supper, a rarity to us tho Common here much later at this time.

10th.—Spent the Morning at Our Lodgings & dined at Capt Horton's in Compy with several Gent and after Dinner walked out to Captn Demmery's Plantation abt. 1½ mile from Town, a very poor flat sandy spot, but stocked with Young Trees, as Peaches, Apples, Oranges, Pomegrannet &c. and in the Evening returned & spent the Evening wth Capt Horton & returned abt. 9 o'Clock to Our Lodgings

11th.—Breakfasted at John Smith's, wrote a Lettr by way of Petition to Capt Horton for a sight of the Act against the Importation of Rum into this Colony & dined at Our Lodgings, and in the afternoon attended the Court accordg to its Adjournmt. when the Appraizers returned their Award to Court and then the Court adjourned to 9 o'Clock the next Day, in ordr for a tender of the salvage Money.

12th.—Breakfasted at Jno. Smiths and afterwds. attended the Court and tendered the Salvage Money being £150 stg. for the Brig. & agreed to deliver One Moiety of the Rum & sugar as it was appraized at too high a rate

for us to take it. Dined with Lieut. Goldsmith & in the afternoon Got the King's Carpenter (which Capt Horton was so kind to spare us) to Work on the Brig & spent the Evening at Our Lodgings in settling our Inv° &c.

*13*th.—Breakfasted at our Lodgings and got hands to Work on the Brig. overhauling the sails & dined at Capt. Demmerys in C°. with Capt Horton & other Gent & spent the afternoon in overlooking our Workman, supped at Capt Demmerys and C°. with the same Gentlemen that we dined with, it being Demmery's Clubb Night.

*14*th.—Breakfasted in C°. with Capt Kerr & others at Samel M°Koy's, and after spending the morning in Overlooking Our Workmen &c. sett out in C°. with Capt Horton, Kerr, Major Steward, and James M°Quin for Jekyl Island in Capt Kerrs Boat with six Oars & arrived there abt. 3 o'Clock where We were handsomely Entertained & spent ye remandr. of the Day in walking abt. the plantation, which is tolerable good piece of Land and has many Savannahs so that Capt Horton supplies all Frederica with Fresh Meat. Capt Horton has made several Good Improvemts & has a good Notion of Farming. Spent the evening in agreeable Conversation and went to bed abt. 10 o'Clock.

9 br. Fifteenth Day.—Arose Early this Morning and after breakfastg on Tea &c all mounted in Ordr for Hunting and after abt. an hours ride We unharboured a Deer but a high Wind & dry Night prevented our getting him as the Dogs could not hold their scent, so that We returned to dine & after dinner sett out for the Hermitage (Capt Kerr's Place) leaving Capt. Horton behind (as his Business calling him to Town) and got there abt. 8 o'Clock at Night the Wind being against us.

Capt. Kerr Entertained all handsomely and keeps a Very Good House & lives much like a Gentleman, has a Good Plantation but Cannot improve so largely as he Would chuse on accat of the Indians in League with the Spaniards, who have Come sometimes & taken the Work-

man Prisoners & Conveyed y^m^ off to Augustine, so he is obliged to keep strong Guards Night & Day, having ab^t^. 30 Soldiers ab^t^. him & his place well fortified with Guns & 4 Large Towers in Case of close attack to fly into, out of w^ch^ They fire both Large & small Guns in y^e^ same Manner as ships at Close Quarters.

*16^th^*.—Spent the whole day in View^g^ the plantation & an Island ab^t^. a small mile from it on Which Capt Kerr has as fine a Q^ty^ of Cattle as I ever have saw in America.

*17^th^*.—Spent all this day in reading & walk^g^. ab^t^. the Plantation in C^o^. with y^e^ other Gent.

*18^th^*.—Went this Day in C^o^. Lieut Bayley & the Other Gent to an Island ab^t^. 5 miles down the River to another Plantation belonging to Capt Kerr where he had abt 30 Men clearing a New Spot of ground & here we spent the Day agreeably in Gunning Walking the Co having taken Victuals for us all & returned ab^t^. Eight o'Clock at Night and after supping and spending ab^t^. an hour or two more in agreeable Discourse went to Bed.

*19^th^*.—Arose this morning ab^t^. 8 o'Clock having been very ill the Greatest part of the night with a Violent Vomiting Headache & purging w^ch^ continued the most of the Day, so that I could not return to Frederica as Intended, eat but very little, but walked ab^t^ the plantation at times for the Benefit of the Air & Went to bed Early.

*20^th^*.—Arose Early having slept Well & bravely recovered except a sickness which lay in my stomach and after Eating a light Breakfast, I sett out in Capt Kerr's Boat for Town in C^o^. with Lieut. Kennwith Bayley, but Capt Kerr, James M^c^Quin & Major Stew'd went with us as far as Kerrfeld, a Plantation belonging to Capt Kerr, where we staid to see some Oxen that Were bro. from N. Carolina ab^t^ 350 Miles and sett^r^ out again ab^t^. 4 in the Afternoon the Tide not suiting till then & Came to Frederica ab^t^ 11 o'Clock in the Night—found Every body in Bed.

21st.—Arose this morning Early and rec'd the Lettrs from Coz Jemmy which he had rec'd from Philada by way of Charles Town in my absence & Was surprized to find some from my Wife & Parents, & Glad to find Capt Lindsay, a Mate & hands arriv'd with the other necessarys We had wrote for, and after breakfast got Every thing in readiness to begin to load again. Dined at Jno. Smiths, & by night got abt. a score of Hhds. of Rum in and spent the Evening at our Lodgings

22d. Continued Very busy the whole day in getting the Rum unstored & Coopered and afterwards On Board the Brigª. Dined at Our Lodgings & spent the Evenᵍ at Capt. McKay—it being his Club Night.

Twenty third Day.—Was very busy the Whole Day in Getting more Rum on board & a Quantity of Empty Beer Barrels filled with Water for Ballast, as We Could get no other here, but found much Delay by having but One Cooper, there being no more in this place. Dined at Our Lodgings and spent the Evening with Our Frd Patrick Heuston it Being his Club Night.

24th. Spent the morning within Doors & Dined at Patrick Hewston's with Our Captain & Mate being much pressed to it by said Hewston tho' his wife had lain it but the night before; took a walk the latter part of the Afternoon in Co with several Gent. of the Town abt the General's Plantation & returned in the Evening to One Herd's (who attends the Courts as a Cryer) & that had invited us the morning before to Sup with him & Were genteeley Entertained for the Man's Circumstances. He is a Settler & his Family appears the most religious, sober people in the Place; After Supper we went early to Bed.

25th. This Day We Were very busy in Getting our Water Casks filled for Ballast & rowled on board, as also the Rum Hhods Coopered & On board.

Very much perplexed & fatigued daily with the soldiers We hire to Work, being so very lazy that they will do

nothing unless Ones Eyes are Continually Over them; Got all the starboard side of the Brig[a] caulked & painted. Dined at John Smith's Our Landlady having provided no Dinner for us in Expectation of Our dining abroad & Supped at Capt. Horton's, it being his Clubb Night.

Twenty sixth Day. This Day Were more fatigued & perplexed with Our Hired Men by their Laziness & also with our Cooper's Tediousness in trimming the Rum Hhds., so that We Were Obliged to apply to Capt. Davis for his Cooper that belongs to the Guard Schooner, who made much more dispatch. This Day Capt. Davis's Mate & hands finished mending Our sails, which they have been ab[t] 10 Days work On. Dined at our Lodgings & spent the Evening Also.

27[th]. Were Busy in Sorting the remaind[er] of the Rum & getting more Water filled, which we get done with after much fatigue: Dined at Our Lodgings & spent y[e] Evening at Capt. Demmery's it being his Club Night.

Twenty Eighth Day. Got the most of Our Water Casks on board & Many more filled, but could do little at our Rigging &c. having sent five of Our best hands last night late to Jekyl for a Couple of Beefs which we got killed for Our provisions, which they did not return with till ab[t] Sun Sett.

Had several Gent. Officers On board to drink punch with us. Dined at Doctor Bailitts & spent the Evening & till ab[t] two o'Clock in the Morning in finish[g] our Invoices of Rum & Sugar with Capt Davis & Writing Letters of advice ab[t] our Bills of Exchange for the Salvage, ab[t] Which time I thought proper to go to bed.

This Evening Capt. Witters arrived in 15 D: passage from N. Y[k] & brought a lett[r] to Coz[r] Jemmy, from his Broth[r] Isrel dated 8[th] 16.

Twenty Ninth Day.—This Day we arose before the Sun & got all hands to Work on the Vessell. Got all our Ballast On board and finished with much diligence & Caulking her sides. Dined at Capt. Demmery's & spent

the Evening at James Mackay with Capt Horton & the other Gent of the Clubb.

30th.—Up Early got all our Rum & Water on board finished Caulkg, and being St. Andrew's Day Our Capt. Who is a Scotch Man invited to dinner at Capt Ja Mackays who always on this Day Entertains all the Gent of the Town; the Capt. could not go but We Went & had vast plenty of all sorts of Victuals & drink, but not Stay long after dinner being too busy, Getting necessarys for the Voyage; spent the Evening in the Briga Cabbin with Jno Smith the Capt & Mate to avoid being taken away to supper at the same House, it being always Customary to make all they can drunk, and after Jno Smith went away I Concluded to Lodge on board which I did very Comfortably.

December the 1st Day.—This Day altho it Was the first Day of the Week was Obliged to be very busy in getting the Briga unmoored, which we did so as to be ready to Go away with the first of the Ebb & she Went down as far as St. Simons with a fine Wind.

Dined at Capt. Horton's with Capt. Demmery, Carr & Other Gent Officers. Was very busy the Whole afternoon in Settling Accts with People & Getting other papers in Ordr, Some to take with us & some to leave behind, which kept us up together with my writing to my Wife & Jimmy to his Parents till after 4 o'Clock in the Morning at which I laid down on the Bed in my Cloaths for an hour. Was very much disturbed by some Young fellows that were keepg St. Andrews who wanted to break our Doors open to get us up to drink, they being Very drunk themselves.

2d Day.—Was very busy all the morning in finishg our papers & settling accts with Every body & getting a few necessarys for Sea stores to send down in the Pilot Boat, till noon Dined at Capt. Demmerys in Co with Capt. Horton & several Others. and after some Short Stay returned to Our Lodgings to finish the Whole of

Our Business which we got done by night & went with all our papers that wanted Certificates to Capt. Horton's who was then going to Jekyl, but stayd partly on our Acct. & to finish his own Dispatches, and after Supping wth him, We sett Out with him in his Boat & Six Oars to go On board the Brig^{a}. where we got ab^{t} 12 o'Clock at Night & found Capt. Karr On Board waiting for our Coming; Capt. Horton staid with us ab^{t} an Hour & after drinking a bowl of Punch & Glass or two of wine he Sett out with Capt. Karr for Jekyl, request^{g} us y^{t} if there should not be fair wind for us to sail, that we would bring Our Captain & dine wth him & some other Gent he expected from Town. Went to bed & slept Very well till day light.

Third Day.—The Wind being at N. E. Could not weigh Our Anchor to Gett under sail and according to Capt. Horton's request the Night before We Waited till about 12 o'Clock when Capt. Demmery Lieut Goldsmith & Patrick Hewston appeared on the Beach at S^{t} Simons, having Come down on purpose by land from Frederica to go with us to Jekyl to dinner. We Immediately sent Capt. Carr's boat & Hands for them, She being left on board on Purpose for them & us. They accordingly called on board y^{e} Brig^{a} for us and after drinking a Bowl of Punch We all Sett Out for Jeyl together, Where We Were Entertained as usual, Viz: with the utmost Civility & after dinner We took a small walk to a Barley Field which Capt Horton has With the utmost Industry got into fine Ord^{r} and sowed and was just come up & looked Well. Returned at Dusk to his House & after Supper, which was about nine o'Clock, Went to the Brig^{a} that lay in the Sound, which is ab^{t} three miles distance from Capt. Horton's Plantation. We Were attended on board by the same Company y^{t} Went to Jekyl with us, who all slept on board, Some on Mattresses on the Cabin Floar & I on one of the Locker's where I rested Very Comfortably. Capt. was So kind that he would not let us go without present^{g} us with two fine sheep & a fresh

Quarter of Beef, which I believe he had killed on purpose and was the Best I have seen on the Island; He also sent on board a Variety of pott-herbs & wanted us only to mention anything he had that We might think would be serviceable to us on Our Voyage, which we sho^{ld} be heartily welcome to, and indeed he has been acting the kindest part of a Friend to us Ever Since We arrived, in Everything that he Could Oblige us anyways in, he seemed to do it with the utmost Chearfulness & readiness. Capt. Carr was also very kind to us & gave us a fat steer & a Hog towards our sea stores, as also Patrick Houston, who also presented us with four fine Turkeys.

Fourth Day of December.—Arose Early and the Wind being fair, We unmoored, took Our Leave of the Gent. who went ashoar in the Pilot's Boat after breakfast^{g} on Tea & We Got under Sail about 10 o'Clock, & Came over the Bar ab^{t} One, When the Pilot left us with a fine fair pleasant Gale, with all Our Sails Sett, when We lost sight of S^{t} Simons, which lies in Lat. 31.5 & has a Very remarkable Inlet being very flat even on the N. side & much the same on the South, with a few remarkable trees higher than the rest, Especially ab^{t} a dozen that stand together and appear Something like an umbrella. There are Large Breakers front^{g} the Inlet, which any One that is bound in must keep to the Southward of, where you have a deep bold Channel & may keep round very near the Breakers, but Should always keep the Lead going. You go up from S^{t} Simons a Crooked narr^{w} River ab^{t} nine miles before You Come to the Town of Frederica which Consists of ab^{t} 200 houses, reckoning the Soldiers, which are above 2/3rd of the number, and are little low houses Covered with Palmettos. There are Scarce any but Soldiers & Officers in the Place & they to y^{e} amount of 600 in all. The Gentlemen Officers and all others Shewed us the utmost Civility & kindness, Except Capt. Davis & his Comrades who seems to have none but Piratical Principles and treated us as Such, a Person giving all the

Trouble & perplexity he could any Ways invent, & that without any manner of reason, for he Confessed to Capt. Horton after Our affairs were Ended, that he was obliged to us & did not believe he had any Fr^{d} on the Island Except Capt. Horton & us two. Our Wind Continued fair till ab^{t} 12 o'Clock at Night, and then fell almost calm, but about two came more Westly, & blew a fine Gale. Slept this morning Very Comfortably and no Ways Yet affected with Sea Sickness.

5th.—The Wind W. N. W. with pleasant Weather; with all sails Sett; Steered as Yesterday E. N. E. which Continued till night, and as it freshened I grew Sea Sick.

6th Day.—Fresh Gale at W^{t} & hazey Weather. Handed Main topsails & all small sails; ab^{t} noon Wind freshened, took reef in Mainsails, and at night the Wind increase^{g} took all sails in & lay to y^{e} Wind at W. N. W. & dark dirty Weather.

7th.—Still Continue Sea-Sick, having a grand Sea & hard Gale at N. W. E., with Cloudy Weather. Lat. 33.14. pobs.

8th.—Moderate & fair, but a great swell from the N. E.; afternoon backed to y^{e} East wrd, wind N. E. This night broke one of Our main Shrouds; rain & little Wind, but an ugly Chopping Sea & Squalls of Rain. Still Continue Very Sick.

9th Day of D^{cr}.—Moderate & Cloudy with Some rain. Steered N. E., Wind N. N. W. with Very threatening Weather, and grew, and grew more so till night, then very dark with Rain. This Day got our main top mast & Yards & Were in Latt. pobs. 34—40.

10th.—Hard Gales & Great Sea, Wind at S. W. & W., with Rain. Lay to under Ballance main Sail & Reeft m. Stay sail. Lat. 35.11.

11th.—Squally Weather & Great Seas with showers of Rain; wind at N. N. E. At 8 o'Clock under reaft fore-sails, & in the night let one reef out of the main sail, no observation. Steered N. W. & N. W. & W. Sea Much fell.

12th Day of Decr.—Moderate and Cloudy with Squalls of Rain. Satt our foresail again & with double reefed main sail steered N. E. & N. E. by E., with Wind at N. W. and sometimes N. N. W., and the latter part of the Day hard Wind with squalls of Rain, so that We were obliged to handle our foresail again & lie too under Ballanc'd m. Sail. No Observation this Day.

13th Day.—Hard Gales with Squalls of Rain and Chopping ugly Sea, with Wd at N. W. Wore the Brigª to the Westwd and still Continued lying too under Ballanced M. sail, with a Great Sea towards Day Light & much Rain and some Hail. No Observation this Day.

Fourteenth Day of Dbr.—In the Night hard Gales of Wind, and Great Sea Grew more moderate towards Morning and abt six o'Clock Sett Our foresail & soon after took the Reef Out of it. Saw two Sails, One a Brigª on our Weather Quarter, and the other a Snow to the Windwd on our Beam, who both seemed to stand the Same Course with us abt 4 or 5 Leagues Distª; the Brigª came up with us fast, till We Sett our foretopsail, and yn we drop'd him astern so fast as to Lose Sight of him in abt 2 hours. Had the Wind this Mornᵍ W. by S. & Steered S. W. by S., but it coming to N. N. W. in the Evenᵍ, We Wore to Northwd & Stood West. Latitude & Observation.

Fifteenth Day of Decbr.—In the morning Moderate & Cloudy, with Rain towards noon; reefd foresails; the Wind rising and at 12 o'Clock A. M. Wore Brigª to the Westwd the Wind being West. We Steered N. N. W., and much Rain with Squalls & Wind very often Shifting from the Westwd to ye N. Wd. No Observation.

16th Day.—Squally with Great Sea & Small Rain. Sounded at 8 o'Clock & had no Ground at 50 fathom. Wind more Moderate, abt Noon. Wind shiftᵍ from N. West to N. E. and We Steer'd from W. S. W. to W. N. W., but the Weather Continuing all Day Cloudy had no Observª.

Seventeenth Day Decer.—Hard Gale of Wind at N. E.

and cloudy Weather. Saw a Sloop On Our Weath: Bow Early in the morning under a foresail and found by 9 o'Clock y^{t} She had Sett her Main Sail and was bear^{g} down upon us, On w^{ch} the W^{d} com^{g} round to the Southw^{d} We made more Sail & took the Reefs out of all Sails. Ab^{t} Noon We made her hull plain, but as she bore down, she drop'd fast Astern, and fired two Guns to Lew^{d} under an English Ensign. By all the Observ^{a} We could make We had no suspicion of her being an Enemy, but yet did not Care to trust her, but the same Course being W. N. W., She find^{g} that We Gained Ground, hoisted her Square Sail, and altho' the Wind freshened much and the sea was high, yet she Gave Chase till ab^{t} 5 o'Clock, when she Was so near us that We thought Proper to throw out Our Ensign and fire two Guns to Lew^{d}, butt As We fired When he Came within Musket Shott that he had no appearance of a Warlike Vessel, & Still under Eng^{h} Colours, We Settled Our Main Sail & foretop Sail, & he Came presently to Lew^{d} of us & hailed us. He was from Plymouth in Eng^{ld} had been Out 9 Weeks & Was bound for N. Yk. The Wind Was So high that We Could not hear his name, but it was Francis. After ask^{g} Some few Questions, he left us & Steered N. W., but What became of him afterw^{ds} I can't tell, for We had all this Night a most Violent Gale at W. S. W. with a very high sea, so that We Were obliged to lie to under Ballanced Main Sail at about 8 o'Clock at night; No Observation this Day.

18th Day.—Lay to all Day with Our Head to the Southward; the Wind at S. by E. and Still seems to increase, with much Rain and high Sea.

19th Day.—Dark Cloudy Weather with squalls of Rain; Grew more moderate ab^{t} noon, so that We Sett out foresail and main staysail the Wind being at S. West. with a high Sea. We Steered W. S. W. and Got Our Sprit Sail Yard in. Towards even^{g} the Wind died away and Grew Calm ab^{t} midnight. Saw two sail this Day from Masthead at a great Distance, the One bear^{g} N. E. of us the Other

South. No Observation this Day, but by Capt^{s} Calculation think ourselves in the Latitude of 37.–30.

20th.—The Wind this morning freshened up at S. West. and in a short time blew So hard that We Were Obliged to reef our Foresail, and had much Squally Weather with Rain. Steered W. N. W., but the Wind Shift^{g} more Northerly, We Steered more Westerly and by noon it blew so hard that We Were obliged to handle our foresail & lie to under ballanced Main Sail. Saw a Vessell to Windward of us ab^{t} 2 Leagues distance lying to. She Edged down tow^{d} us, that We spoke her & found her to be a Ship from Bristol bound to Virginia, One Knowles I think W^{m}. She had lost her mizzen Mast and had been Out 8 Weeks. After he had spoke us, as the Sea run so very high, that it Would be dangerous being to near Each other, he steered off ab^{t} a Mile distance and tow^{ds} Even^{g} the Wind moderat^{g} We Sett our foresail & Mainsail & steered N. West the Wind being N. N. E. and We saw him sett his topsails and stand more to the Westw^{d}. No Observation this Day, but from Acct^{s} Were in the Lattitude 37.20.

Twenty first Day.—Dark Weather with Squalls & Rain. Wind at North & N. W. E. Steered N. W. at N. W. by W. and the Wind increase^{g} Were obliged to hand M. Sail & foresail, and in the Night had a Violent Gale of Wind, which shifted all round the Compass; had a Great sea & all the Elements seemed to be in Confusion. No Observation.

Twenty Second Day.—Very Squally & rainey, with the Wind at South & S. by E. Saw a Sloop lying to, with her head to Eastw^{d} that had lost her Bowspit & about ¼ of a mile distance. The Wind has Continued this Day & last night so hard, that We Split Our Mainsail and Were Obliged to unbend it & bend the Main Stay sail in the Room of it, and Got all hands between decks to mend the M. Sail Had no observation this Day.

23rd Day.—Wind at S. by E., but blew so very hard

could carry no sail, but Were Obliged to lie to under a Mainstay sail & drove much to the Eastw^{d}, had much Squally Rainey Weather this morning, but afternoon abated much as to Violence of the Wind, but continued in Light Squalls of Rain & Cloudy. Saw three wild Summer Ducks flying. No Observation.

24th Day.—Light Squalls of Rain with the Wind So^{ly} So that We Bent Our Main Sail again and Sett Our Foresail and in the afternoon the Wind growing Much more moderate, We wore to the Westw^{d} and Sett our topsail, took the Reefs out of the Mainsail & other small Sails & Steered S. W. by W. Wind at N. W. Had no Observation.

25th Day.—This Day We had moderate and fair Day with a small Breeze and Smooth Sea and Continued clear till about noon, began to be overcast so that We had no observation. Wind the forep^{t} of the Day at N. W. by N. & Course W. by S. but the Latter part Southerly with Rain. Steered then W. N. W. Saw several Dolphin, but Could Catch none, also a large Shark under Our Stern.

26th Day.—Very Squally with Rain. saw a large Ship Stand^{g} to the Eastw^{d}, Supposed from Virg^{na} bound home. Had the Wind this morning at S. S. W. & Steered W. N. W., but it freshened so much by noon that We Were Obliged to lie to with all Sails handed, & had all the latter part of the Day & night the Wind violently at N. W. W. with a very great sea. Sounded for Bottom but Could get none and lost Our Lead. Had no Observation.

27th.—Squally & Rain, and a Great Sea. At 12 We Wore to the Southw^{d} and lay till about 6 o'Clock when the Wind abat^{g} somewhat, We Sat our foresail & Mainsail and steered S. S. W. the Wind at South, had an Observation and Were in the Lattitude of 38–4.

28th.—This Day was moderate & fair, but a Great Swell from the S. W. ward and had a fresh Gale at W. S. W. & Steered N. W. Found Ourselves in the Latt^{d} 39.12.

29th.—Little Wind and fair Weather and at 4 p. m.

Sounded, but had no Ground at 40 fathom. Steered from N. W. to West & so back again to N. W., the Wind Shifting back & foreward from West to S. W. by W. Sounded again at 8 o'Clock but had no ground; the Lattitude of 39.41.

*30*th.—Dark Cloudy Weather with a moderate Breeze at W. S. W. Our Course being N. West. Sounded at 8 P. M. & had no Ground at 50 fathom; and the Wind freshened so much in the Night that We Were Obliged to hand our sails & lie to under a Ballanced M. Sail & had a Great Sea with hard Squalls of Wind & Rain Wch Occasioned us to drive much to the N. Eastwd. Had no Observation, but by the Capt Acct were in Latt. 39. 44.

*31*st.—Hard Gale at W. by N. with a Great Sea; and Hard Squalls of Hail & Very Cold, So that We Could shew no sails & Continued so all Day & night, but Lay to with Our Head to Southwd under a Ballance MainSail. Had no Observation.

January the first Day.—Still Continues Very Hard Gale at S. W. with much Snow & Hail & is Very Cold, but about Noon began to moderate & the Wind Came to N. W. & N. W. by N.—the sea falln much so yt We Sat Our foresail & MainSail & after sometime Our Mainstay-sail. We have Still Very Cloudy Weather, Some snow & Cold. Had no Obesrvation, but from Captns Acct were in Latt. 39—

*2*nd *Day.*—Dark Cloudy Weather with some snow, but a moderate Gale at W. N. West—Steered S. West, & as the Wind shifted more Northerly, We Steered more Wely. Sounded but had no Bottom a 50 fath. Wind Continued Moderate all Day & Cold much abated & were in the Latt. 39. 46 by Observation.

*3*d *Day.*—Moderate & fair Weather, with the Wind Easterly till about Noon, when it shifted more Southerly & blew a fresh Gale, so that We reefed Our foresail & Mainsail & had the latter part of the Day Squally dark Weather, with the Wind at S. West & West by South.

Sounded but had no Bottom at 50 fathom. No Observation this Day.

4th Day.—Fine moderate Weather with the Wind at W. S. W. & We Steered N. West and W. N. W. Saw Some Penquin, and Sounded and had Ground at 36 fathom; found Ourselves by Observation in the Latitude of 39. 38.

5th Day.—Weather Continues fine & Moderate, wth the Wind at West—|right ahead| & W. by N. Tacked about Noon & Steered S. West and S. W. by South, being too much to the Northward of Our Cape. Saw Several Gannetts & more Penquins, wch are a Bird about as big as a large & not unlike a Muscovy Duck & always keep within Soundings. Saw also many Porpoises wch is the first time since We left Frederica, tho. the Sailors have seen some Several times. Lattitude by Observation 39.10——

Sixth Day.—Moderate & fair Weather with the wind at W. by N. Our Course being S. W. by S. till about Noon, when the Wind Shiftg to the S. S. West We Wore & Stood to the Westward & had a fresh Gale & reefed our Mainsail. Sounded several times this Day & had Bottom at 40 & 30 fathoms being a Small Sand with Small Black Specks & some Shells. Saw several Whales about half a mile Distance, going to N. Eastward and at 12 o'Clock saw the Land bearing N. W. by W. to the S. W. & N. East, which We took to be Egg Harbour, being in Lattitude by Observation 39. 27.

7th Day.—Fine moderate Day with the Wind at W. S. W.; at 2 p. m. Stood to the Southward, not Chusg to be too near Land in the Night. Saw a small Sloop standg to the North Westd close within the Land. Sounded 16 fathoms found Small Sand & shells. Tacked abt 12 noon to the Northwd & Sounded in 15 fathom, and at 10 P. M. made Cape May, with the Wind at N. by East & Sounded 10 & 11 fathom. This Day a Genoese, One of Our best Seaman, coming off the Foretopsail Yard arm, fell down by slip of his foot across the rough Tree by the Starboard

side, and was taken up immediately, but no ways sensible, but too all appearance Dead, having fell upon his side which I believe broke his back & some of his Inward parts. I got him down soon as possible into the steerage, covered him Warm & Opened a Vein, He bled about half a Spoonfull but never shewed any manner of Symptoms of Life.

THE OLD BARRACKS, TRENTON, N. J.

BY VICE-CHANCELLOR EDWIN R. WALKER
Trenton, N. J.

[The following letter of Vice-Chancellor Walker, addressed to the President of the "Old Barracks Association," of Trenton, N. J., contains so much data that has not been used before, relating to this interesting historical pile of buildings of Colonial and Revolutionary days, that it warrants publication.]

To the Old Barracks Association,
Trenton, New Jersey,
Mrs. J. Murray Forst, *President.*

Dear Madame:

Ever since the unveiling of the tablets at the Old Barracks on June 20, 1909, in which ceremonies I had the honor to participate, I have thought that your Association should be in possession of a picture of the structure as it stood when first erected and before its partial demolition by the opening of Front street westerly from Willow street, and the conversion of the northerly wing running eastward into dwelling houses. A fact not hitherto generally known and concerning which the belief has been both ways, is, that the old colonial stone and brick dwelling house on the northwest corner of Front and Willow streets, was part and parcel of the original Barracks and was the officers' quarters. My idea of the desirability of the Association having a picture of the historic structure, has crystallized into practical form, and I have had an accurate drawing of it made by Mr. Henry R. MacGinnis, of the School of Industrial Arts, which drawing I herewith present to the Association, and beg its acceptance at their hands. The picture as you will notice, exhibits the Barracks as they originally stood, and also shows the portion still standing, now owned and preserved by your Association.

On this occasion, it seems to me fitting that some account of the historic old structure should be given, that it may be preserved in concrete form and save trouble hereafter to those who would explore the various sources of information which I have examined in order to write a succinct and veritable history of these Barracks. Therefore, with your leave, I will now proceed to an account of this matter, pointing out the source of authority for every fact disclosed, that it may be easily verified.

The reason for the building of the Barracks was set forth in my address on the occasion of the tablets ceremonies, in which I said: "For a time preceding the year 1757, the war cry of the allies of France was heard upon the then frontier of our country; in parts now accessible in a few hours by our modern methods of transportation, but then remote. Born of their fears, the desire of the colonists that suitable protection be afforded against the expected incursions of the savage Indians found expression in petitions to the Legislature for the erection of Barracks, in which to house the troops of Britain and of the colony, mobilized for defensive purposes, and at the same time to ease the burden of supporting soldiers quartered in the houses of the inhabitants. In compliance with the prayers of the petitions, the Legislature made an appropriation for the erection of these very Barracks among others, and they stand today, if not the only, certainly the best preserved, of the defensive fortresses built in 1757–1758." I should have stated, that a portion of the Barracks stood as originally erected. I now know that they are the only ones standing in anything like their pristine condition.

In the winter of 1757, a petition was sent to the General Assembly of the Province by magistrates, freeholders and inhabitants of the town of Trenton and other places adjacent in the county of Hunterdon, which recited:

"That altho we your Petitioners do with truly Loyal and gratefull Hearts acknowledge how much we Owe to our Most Gracious Soverign, and his Parliament, for furnishing us with repeated supplys of Troops at this Criticall Juncture of Affairs when our all is threatened and endangered by our Inveterate and Potent Enemy, in Conjunction with surrounding nations of Cruel and deceitful Savages. And altho we are chearfully willing to exert the utmost of our power to render these his Majesties Troops perfectly usefull, and to answer the just end for which they were designed, in proportion to the number that shall from time to time fall to our share to support: Yet such is the Scituation of Trenton being so great a thoroughfare, and consequently so many soldiers continually passing and repassing upon their Severall Commands, and Quartered upon us Night and day, that unless by the Assistance of this Honourable House we can by some wholesome Law and legal Remedy be eased of this present Distress, the Country will be no longer able to bear the Burden, nor the Officers have it in their Power to keep their stragling Soldiers under due Command and Subjection.

"We shall not take upon us to dictate to this Honourable House what should be the method of this Remedy, but hope we may presume to offer our Sentiments, that if we could be provided with convenient Barracks it would answer all ends both as to the conveniency and safety that would redound to the Troops, as well as the great ease and advantage it would be to the Subject.

"We therefore your Petitioners Humbly request that this Honourable House would speedily take it into Consideration and enable us to erect and Build such sufficient and Convenient Barracks for the purpose aforesaid or to give us such other adequate Remedy, in such Measure, and with such Power & Authority, and with such Clauses, Proviso's and restrictions as to this Honourable House, in their Wisdom shall think meet and fitt.

"And your Petitioners as in duty Bound shall ever Pray &c."

This petition was signed by persons, many of whom have descendants now living in Trenton and vicinity, and I believe it will be of interest to have the signers' names fully copied and set out. For convenience, I have arranged them alphabetically. They are as follows:

Alex. Anderson
John Anderson
Josiah Appleton
Charles Axford, Jun'r
William Ball
Jno. Barnes
Thomas Barnes
Edman Beakes
Daniel Bealergeau
Gideon Bickerdike
Benj. Biles
Alex. Chambers
John Chambers
Wm. Cleayton
Thomas Coalman
Abra Cottnam
George Davies
Jos. De Cou

William Douglass	Andrew Reed
William Ely	Clothworthy Reed
Jonathan Furman	John Rickey
Moore Furman	Vincent Runyan
James Gumine	James Rutherford
Jos. Higbee	Rob't Rutherford
Richard Hoff	Rob't Scarff
Michael Houdin	Theo. Severns
Hezekiah Howell	Hezekiah Stout
Obadiah Howell	James Stout
Aza'h Hunt	George Tucker
Willson Hunt	Samuel Tucker
Neal Leviston	Samuel Tucker, Jun.
Thomas Moore	John Vancleave
W. Norris	J. Warrell
Edward Paxton	Thomas Williams
Chas. Pettit	Jethro Yard
Jos. Phillips	John Yard
David Price	Wm. Yard.

There are 39 petitions of similar character on file in the military records of the state. (*The Old Barracks at Trenton, New Jersey, by Adjutant General William S. Stryker, 1885, pages 4 and 5.*)

On March 31, 1758, at a session of the Colonial legislature at Burlington, the above mentioned petition of the magistrates, freeholders and inhabitants of the city of Trenton was presented to the House, setting forth the great inconvenience they lay under for want of barracks and praying that barracks might be provided for, was read and referred to the committee on the bill for that purpose. It was ordered by the House, that the following members, Mr. Johnston, Mr. Yard, Mr. Read, Mr. Paxson and Mr. Leaming, be a committee to prepare a plan of the manner and an estimate of the expense of building barracks for 1500 men and lay the same before the House. The above named committee on the same day made the following report:

"We, the Committee appointed to consider of a Plan for building Barracks for 1500 Men; and computing the Expenses thereof, do hereby report, that we are of Opinion, it will be proper to build one at *Burlington*, for 300 Men; one at *Trenton*, for 300 Men; one at *Brunswick*, for 300 Men;

one at Amboy, for 300 Men; one at *Elizabeth-Town*, for 300 Men. And it appearing to us, that the Expence of Building will very much vary, according to the Place where the Building is erected: And that it may be necessary also to vary the method of Building in several Places, the Expence and method are therefore both too uncertain for us to form any tolerable Estimate: Our Opinion therefore is, that the best Method the House can fall upon, will be to appoint three responsible Freeholders in each of the above Places, and to impower any two of them to draw on the Treasury for any Sum not exceeding £1400, for *Burlington;* nor the sum of £1400, for *Trenton;* nor the sum of £1400, for *New Brunswick;* nor the sum of £1400, for *Amboy;* nor the sum of £1400, for Elizabeth-Town and with the moneys so received, to compleat the said Buildings, in the most cheap, expeditious and convenient Manner they are capable of. All of which is, nevertheless, submitted to the House by

CHARLES READ,
AARON LEAMING,
HENRY PAXSON,
JOSEPH YARD."

The report was unanimously agreed to, and it was ordered that the following members, Mr. Smith, Mr. Nevill, Mr. Read, Mr. Fisher, and Mr. Yard be a committee to bring in a bill for building barracks for quartering soldiers. (*Minutes of Assembly 1758, pages 12 and 13.*)

On Friday, April 7, 1758, Mr. Smith from the committee brought in a bill for the building of barracks which was read and ordered to a second reading. On Saturday April 8, 1758, the engrossed bill entitled, "An Act for building of Barracks within this Colony, and for preventing spirituous Liquors being sold to common Soldiers without leave from proper Authority, and for other purposes therein mentioned," was read and passed, and it was ordered that Mr. Nevill and Mr. Read carry the bill to the Council (now the Senate) for concurrence. On Thursday, April 15, 1758, a message was received from the Council by Mr. Ashfield, acquainting the House that they had passed the bill for building barracks within this colony &c., without amendment. (*Minutes of Assembly 1758, pages 19 and 23.*)

On Saturday, April 15, 1758, Governor John Reading came into the Council, and having by the secretary

required the attendance of the House of Assembly, the Speaker with the House attended: "When His Honour was pleased to Give his Assent to the Bill Entitled an Act for Building of Barracks within this Colony," &c. (*Journal of the Provincial Council, N. J. Archives, vol. 17, p. 165.*)

The act thus passed provided that the treasurers of the colony pay unto Hugh Hartshorn, Thomas Scattergood, William Skeels, John Allen, Joseph Yard, Theophilus Severns, Reuben Runion, Henry Fisher, Joseph Mount, Samuel Nevill, Thomas Barton, John Smyth, Robert Ogden, Cornelius Hatfield and Jacob Dehart, such sum or sums of money, as they might think necessary for erecting and building barracks sufficient to contain three hundred men, at each of the respective places of Burlington, Trenton, Perth Amboy, New Brunswick and Elizabeth-Town, together with necessary conveniences; and further that Andrew Johnson, James Hude, Richard Salter, Robert Lawrence, Charles Read, William Morris, John Johnson, Ebenezer Miller, and Richard Smith, were appointed trustees for the colony of New Jersey, in whose names the respective deeds of the grounds should be taken, to and for the use of barracks for the sequestering of soldiers whenever they might be sent by proper authority to reside in any of the places named.

General Stryker informs us, that soon after the passage of the above mentioned act, the ground at the west end of Front street, the river road (which is now State street, turning south through what is now Willow street), was purchased from Mrs. Sarah Chubb, whose father, Joseph Peace, purchased the lot in a tract of 36 acres from James Trent, son of William Trent, and that the erection of the Barracks was commenced on May 31, 1758. (*The Old Barracks, &c., pages 10, 11 and 12.*) This deed appears never to have been recorded. I made a diligent search for it in the office of the Secretary of State where deeds were recorded at that time, but was unsuc-

cessful. Though barracks were built in pursuance of the act in all of the places provided for, namely, Burlington, Trenton, Perth Amboy, New Brunswick and Elizabeth-Town, only the deed for the Burlington barracks, dated June 3, 1758, appears to have been recorded. (Book of Deeds, vol. "O," page 290, Secretary of State's office.)

The committee of the Provincial Assembly were quite right in their surmise that the expenses of building would very much vary according to the place where the building was to be erected, as I find in the Minutes of Assembly (1760, pages 52, 54; 1765, pages 34, 68), that the barracks at Perth Amboy cost £4052–2–7; at Burlington, £2643–9–2; at Elizabeth-Town, including furnishing, £3589–7–8¾; at Trenton, £1040–14–2; plus £2446–6–9, there being a record of two payments with reference to our Barracks.

The building of the Trenton Barracks was pushed so rapidly that more than one-half of them were filled with soldiers in December, 1758, and they were fully completed in March, 1759. In October, 1759, the Barracks were occupied by a regiment of Highlanders, whose peculiar dress created much interest among the people of the town. (*The Old Barracks, &c., page 12.*)

We come now to the interesting question of the old colonial house on the northwest corner of Front and Willow streets. General Stryker says, that in December, 1759, a small addition was built to the Barracks for the use exclusively of the officers in charge of the English troops. (*The Old Barracks, &c., page 12.*)

The Barracks, as you know, were erected in the form of three sides of a hollow square, the main building running north and south with two wings, one at the northerly and the other at the southerly end, both extending eastward. General Stryker says, it was built entirely of stone, undressed, two stories in height, the main building—130 feet in length and 18½ feet in width, with two wings each 58 feet in length. The time between the com-

pletion of the Barracks in March, 1759, until December, when the addition for the officers was built, and when the building must have resembled the only pictures of it which have ever been published, namely three sides of a hollow square with wings of equal dimensions, is a period of months only, after which time until the partial demolition of the building for the opening of Front street, the appearance of the building must have been unchanged and included the officers' quarters, which were, in fact, the colonial house on the northwest corner of Willow and Front streets. I assume that General Stryker was correct, when he says that the officers' quarters were built in December, 1759, although he does not disclose the source of his authority, nor does he mention the colonial building as being those quarters. He doubtless assumed that that was a fact known to those who were conversant with local history. However, in the twenty-six years that have elapsed since his pamphlet was written, this fact, if ever generally known here, has been practically buried with the older inhabitants who have passed away, and is almost entirely unknown to the living Trentonians of today. I was able to find only one person who could assure me of the historical fact, that this building was the officers' quarters and part and parcel of the Barracks built in 1759, and that was Miss Emeline R. Johnston, of 184 West Front street, whom I interviewed last August (1910). Miss Johnston was then nearly 89 years of age and in the full possession of her faculties. She told me her family moved into this very house in 1836, when she was in her fifteenth year, and that she and her sister resided in the house until the time of the war of the rebellion, when she left and her sister, who is now deceased, continued to reside there many years afterwards. Miss Johnston informed me, not only that she had always understood that the old house was part of the Barracks and occupied by the British officers, but that a daughter of Conrad Kottz, who lived on the west side of South

Warren Street between State street and Front street during the Revolutionary War (see *General Stryker's Trenton 100 Years Ago, page 11*), and who was 16 years old at the time of the battle of Trenton, and who when a widow by the name of Robinson (whose first name she had forgotten, but who went by the name of "Aunty" Robinson), called upon the Johnston family in 1836, when they first moved into the old house, in conversation told them, that the house in which they were living was standing there during the Revolutionary War, and was occupied by the officers in command of the troops quartered in the Barracks. Miss Johnston also informed me, that when she lived in the house, there was an iron plate in the fire-place in the kitchen about one yard square, with the British coat-of-arms upon it, the lion and the unicorn being distinctly remembered by her. Many of the older people of Trenton are acquainted with Miss Johnston and knew her sister, and will remember the private school which they conducted in the old house for several decades.

Now, the information imparted to me by the venerable and respected Miss Johnston is, it seems to me, perfectly conclusive of the question under examination. Here is a person who tells us that the old house was the officers' quarters at the Barracks, not because of tradition handed down to her for several generations, but by testimony received first-hand and from the lips of one who was practically a contemporary of the building. Furthermore, doubtless no one would have installed an iron plate bearing the British coat-of-arms in that house soon after the Revolutionary War, the feeling against England being intense for many years after the close of the conflict. Again, undoubtedly the house would not have been built where it is as a residence, disassociated from the Barracks, until after Front street had been opened, as before that time the Barrack's lot was entire and in the ownership of a single individual. However, I did not permit my researches and investigation to end

here, but later discovered a piece of evidence which is documentary in character and absolutely conclusive of the fact, that the old house was a part of the Barracks. Having learned that Doctor Carlos F. Godfrey, late of the Adjutant General's office, had made some researches concerning the Barracks at one time, I told him of the investigation I was making and requested that he give me any information he might have concerning the subject in hand. He very obligingly told me, that he had found in the cellar of the state house a ground floor plan of the Barracks which showed the old house as the officers' quarters. Through his kindness I was placed in possession of the plan, or rather plans referred to, for they are in duplicate, one on each side of the same sheet of paper, and I have had them photographed. These photographs I also send you along with this communication, and beg your acceptance of the same. From inspection, it would appear that the plans are not the working plans from which the Barracks were built in 1758–9, but that they were made at a later date and for a different purpose, as I will now proceed to show. The French and Indian war ended with the establishment of peace with France in 1763. During the year 1765, the building seems to have been unoccupied and the attention of the General Assembly was called to the fact in May, and they ordered that the perishable articles therein should be sold and the building kept in repair and rented. William Clayton and Abraham Hunt were appointed commissioners to carry out these orders of the legislature, and they immediately sold the furniture and rented the building and premises, a clause in the lease requiring them to be given up at any time on suitable notice of the governor, that they were needed for the use of British soldiers. (*The Old Barracks, &c., pages 12 and 13.*) Now it will be observed by looking at the photographs of the plans, that the building was divided into rooms, which are numbered, and a price set opposite the number of each room. It is obvious that there was no one in Trenton

in the Colonial period who would for any reason or purpose desire to rent the Barracks as an entirety, and therefore, it clearly appears that the building was divided into rooms for the purpose of renting to families and others, and this arrangement must have been made in or about 1765 and continued down to 1776. Therefore this plan must have been made not earlier than seven nor later than seventeen years after the erection and completion of the Barracks, and must have been made by a man who was contemporary with the constructure and knew when he drew the plans and marked indelibly upon them as he did "officers house," that he was making a correct drawing and truly stating a fact, concerning the Colonial mansion on the corner of Front and Willow streets.

Digressing for a few moments from the examination of data concerning the history of this interesting structure, I desire to bring to your attention an historical incident connected with the Barracks not hitherto published anywhere, save in the public records and archives of the state. It consists of the documents laid before a meeting of the Provincial Council in 1767, concerning the reception by the last Colonial governor, William Franklin, from Earl Shelburne, one of the Secretaries of State of England, of the disallowance of an act passed by the Provincial legislature in 1766, appointing commissioners for supplying the several barracks erected in the Colony with furniture and other necessaries for accommodating the King's troops in, or marching through, the Colony, and for defraying other incidental charges. Thus it appears, that a matter of importance concerning our historical Barracks, among the others, was passed upon by the King of England and his Privy Council, and disallowed because the act of the legislature of the Colony which was vetoed, flouted an Act of Parliament. The full minute of the Colonial Council on this question, is herewith submitted for your perusal, because of its interest and because of the illustrious Englishmen who

sat in judgment, advising the King as to the audacious law of the Colony.

"At a Council held at Burlington on Friday the 26th day of November 1767.

"Present

"His Excellency WILLIAM FRANKLIN ESQR. Governor

"The Honbls { CHARLES READ, JOHN SMITH, SAMUEL SMITH } Esqrs of his Majestys Council.

"His Excellency laid before the Council two letters he had lately received from the Right Honble the Earl of Shelburne, one of his Majestys Principal Secretaries of State, dated at White Hall July 18th 1767 and August 7th 1767, enclosing the Opinion of the Board of Trade, that an Act of Assembly of this province passed in June 1766, ought to be disallowed, and his Majestys Royal disallowance of the said Act, which are in the following words, vizt

"To the KINGS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY.

"We have had under our Consideration an Act passed in your Majestys Province of New Jersey in June 1766, and Entituled, 'An Act appointing Commissioners for supplying the several Barracks Erected in this Colony with Furniture and other necessarys for accommodating the Kings Troops in or marching through this Colony, and for defraying other incidental Charges.'

"Whereupon We beg leave humbly to represent to your Majesty That Whereas the Act of Parliament passed in the fifth year of your Majestys Reign, for Amending the Mutiny Act, and for rendering it more effectual in your Majestys Dominions in America, does direct the Governor and Council of the respective Provinces to appoint Commissioners for furnishing your Majestys Troops with certain necessaries therein Enumerated, and that all the Expenses incurred thereby shall be paid by the said Province respectively, this Law does on the Contrary make the Nomination of the said Commissioners An Act of the General Legislature of the Province referring them not to the Act of Parliament above recited but to the Usage of the Province for the several Articles with which your Majestys Troops are to be supplied and limiting the Money to be paid by the said Province, on Account of the afsd Service, to the Sum of One hundred Pounds for each of the five Barracks in the said Province.

"For these Reasons, as this Act of the Legislature of New Jersey does not make provision either in the Mode, or to the Extent allowed by the Act of Parliament above referred to, We do humbly recommend it to your Majesty to signify your Royal disallowance of this Act.

"Which is most humbly submitted

"Whitehall } May 8th 1767 }

CLARE
GEO: RICE
WM. FITZHERBERT
THOS ROBINSON"

"At a Court at St. Jame's the 13th day of May 1767.

"Present

{Seal of the Privy Counell} The Kings Most Exeellent Majesty

His Royal Highness	Earl of Harcourt
the Duke of York	Earl of Ilchester
ArchBishop of Canterbury	Earl of Besborough
	Earl of Hillsborough
Lord President	Earl of Shelburne
Duke of Bolton	Viscount Falmouth
Duke of Queensbury	Viseount Barrington
Duke of Argyle	Viscount Clare
Marquis of Granby	Bishop of London
Lord Steward	Lord Berkley of Stratton
Lord Chamberlain	Lord Bathurst
Earl of Denbigh	Lord Sandsy
Earl of Shaftsbury	Mr Treasurer of the Household
Earl of Litchfield	Jas Stuart McKenzie Esqr
Earl of Marehmont	Wellsbore Ellis Esqr
Earl of Bristol	Sir Gilbert Elliot
	Master of the Rolls

"Whereas by Commission under the Great Seal of Great Britain, the Governor Counеil and Assembly of his Majestys Province of New Jersey are Authorized and impowered to make, Constitute and Ordain, Laws, Statutes and Ordinanees, for the publiek Peace, Welfare and good Government of the said Provinee; whieh Laws, Statutes and Ordinanees are to be, as near as conveniently may be, agreeable to the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom and to be transmitted for his Majesty's Royal approbation or disallowance, And Whereas in pursuance of the said Powers An Act was passed in the said Province in 1766 and transmitted, Entitled as follows, vizt

"An Act appointing Commissioners for supplying the several Barraeks Erected in this Colony with Furniture and other neeessaries for accommodating the Kings Troops in or marehing thro' this Colony and for defraying other incidental Charges.

"Which Act having been perused and eonsidered by the Lords Commissrs for Trade and Plantations and by them presented to his Majesty at this Board as proper to be disallowed His Majesty was thereupon this Day pleased, with the Adviee of this Privy Counеil to Deelare his disallowanee of the said Aet. And pursuant to His Majestys Royal Pleasure thereupon expressed, the said Act is hereby disallowed, deelared Void and of none Effeet Whereof the Governor or Commander in Chief of his Majestys sd Province of New Jersey for the time being, and all others whom it may eoneern, are to take notiee and govern themselves aeeordingly."

(*See Journal of Governor and Council, N. J. Archives, vol. 17, page 459.*)

Returning to the subject of our narrative, I perhaps cannot better tell of the use and occupation of the Barracks during the Revolutionary War, than by here inserting that part of the inscription on the inside tablet above referred to, which covers the Revolutionary period, and is as follows:

"For a short time preceding the battles of Trenton and Assunpink it (the Barracks) was occupied by British troops, Hessians, Provincial recruits for the service of the Crown, and Tory refugees, and during the remainder of the war by troops of the Continental Line, State Militia and their French Allies."

For three years after the war of the Revolution the Barracks were disused, and on June 1, 1786, the legislature directed the commissioners of this state to sell all the barracks and lands attached to them. (*The Old Barracks, &c., page 14.*)

By deed dated February 18, 1787 (Hunterdon county Clerk's office, volume 1 of Deeds, at page 222), Moore Furman, one of the commissioners for the state, sold the Trenton Barracks to William Ogden and William Patterson. Moore Furman was a distinguished Jerseyman of the late Colonial and early State epochs. He was Deputy Quartermaster-General of New Jersey State Troops during the Revolutionary War, and was an all 'round man of affairs. One of his descendants was the late Capt. William E. Hunt, of the United States Navy, and his present day descendants in Trenton are of the families of Green, Hilson and McIlvaine. Some five years after he sold the Barracks as commissioner for the state, Moore Furman acquired the property individually by conveyance from William Ogden and William Patterson and their wives, by deed dated March 30, 1792 (Hunterdon county Clerk's office, volume 1 of Deeds, page 661). The "Old Barracks" and their grounds have at all times since the last mentioned date been owned by

private individuals, first in their entirety, and afterwards in divided form.

In the course of my investigations, I endeavored to ascertain the exact date of the demolition of that part of the Barracks through which Front street was extended when opened westward from Willow street to Delaware street. General Stryker in his *"Old Barracks at Trenton," page 14,* says that this was done in the year 1813. I endeavored to ascertain the exact date in 1813, and the source of authority for the extension of Front street, but found nothing relating to Front street. I examined the old atlases and maps in the office of the city engineer but could find nothing bearing on the question; files of the newspapers covering every period during which the street may have been opened, so far as any statement recorded in print seemed to indicate, but found nothing on the subject.

In *Raum's History of Trenton, at p. 271,* it is said that Front street was continued to the state house yard directly through the old Barracks in 1801, making two separate buildings of it instead of one as theretofore.

This diversity of dates between Gen. Stryker and Mr. Raum perplexed me, and I undertook by a search of the records for conveyances both here and at Flemington, Hunterdon county, for you know that Trenton was in Hunterdon until Mercer county was formed in 1838, to ascertain when lots were first conveyed on Front street, including any part of the "Old Barracks," in the hope and expectation of finding that the street was laid out as a private enterprise by the owner of the entire tract and not by virtue of any public authority, and thus, approximately at least, to ascertain the date of its opening. In this I was disappointed, as a break in the record title occurs between the years 1792 and 1813. The last recorded conveyance of the Barracks lot to any one was that to Moore Furman in 1792, above mentioned. The next conveyance of any part of the premises was in 1815, and was made by the heirs of Samuel W. Stockton.

There is no conveyance of record here or at Flemington showing any divestiture of title out of Moore Furman or any devolution of title upon Samuel W. Stockton. From extensive and laborious searches of the records at Trenton and Flemington, with regard to this matter, it was found, that in 1793, the surveyors of the highway under and by virtue of proceedings in the Hunterdon county court of Common Pleas, laid out Front street westerly from Willow street to the state house lot as a highway, the lines of which passed through the "Old Barracks." This is perfectly apparent from the beginning point of the new road and its course as described in the return of the surveyors, corresponding as it does with the courses in deeds for lands bordering on the street. A copy of the return taken from Road Book "A," Hunterdon county, page 187, is as follows:

"Road fr. ye end of)
Front Street in)
Trenton to ye State)
House lot &c.)

"We the Surveyors of the Highways of the Townships of Trenton, Maidenhead & Hopewell being legally called by order of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for the County of Hunterdon to lay a road fr. the end of front street in the City of Trenton to the State House Lott, & we after viewing the premises & hearing the allegations of all parties do agree to lay a road forty-two feet wide as follows: Beginning at the end of Front street afsd. near the Barracks from thence running in the middle of the Road North seventy degrees west, four chains & seventy links to the State House Lott, thence North twenty-two degrees East, three chains & forty-nine links out into the road that leads from Abrm Hunts to Beatty's ferry and that the said road be opened on or about the first day of September next.

"And we the said Surveyors being also called by the afsd order to vacate a certain Alley running between the Lotts of Agr. Appleton & Isaac Peace, and we do agree to take up & vacate the s'd alley as follows. Beginning at the end of said Alley at the Southeast corner of said Abr. Appleton's Lott & we do agree to take up & vacate the same until it intersects the afsd's new road. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands & seals May 27th 1793.

John Riggs, (L. S.) John Stevens, (L. S.)
Israel Moore, (L. S.) Andrew Smith, (L. S.)
Theophilus Phillips, (L. S.) John Temple, (L. S.)
Recorded May 28th, 1793."

Notwithstanding the laying out of the road to be opened on or before September 1, 1793, it seems not to have been accomplished in fact, at least not through the Barracks building, until 1813, although portions of Front street were certainly opened between Willow and Delaware streets prior to that year, because by a deed made in 1809, property was conveyed on the lower side of Front street, east of the Barracks, one line of which ran to the "Barracks lot," and by a deed made in 1811, property was conveyed on the north side of Front street by a line running from Delaware street westerly about eighty feet which, of course, did not extend east as far as the "Barracks lot" proper. In view of these facts, and others which will be hereafter mentioned, I am of opinion, that General Stryker was right in his assertion that the street was actually opened through the barracks in 1813, because: (1) he was an eminent historical authority; (2) he wrote his account twenty-six years ago and had better facilities than I, at least traditionally, and probably documentary, to enable him to ascertain the facts; (3) Mr. Raum was not as thorough and accurate as General Stryker. What precedes Mr. Raum's assertion, that Front street was opened west of Willow street in 1801, is this: he says the buildings known as White Hall (Old Barracks) were erected by the King as barracks for his officers. This we know is a mistake. The King never erected the Barracks, nor was his permission even asked. They were erected exclusively by the Colony and maintained for its defence. True, they housed the soldiers of the King, but were not built exclusively for officers. Then again, in describing the building, Mr. Raum says, it commenced at Willow street, extended thence west toward the state house, thence ran south crossing Front street, thence taking an easterly direction terminated again at Willow street, forming three sides of a hollow square. As Front street, by his own assertion, was not opened until 1801, the Barracks running south in 1758, could not have crossed that street, unless he

means they crossed what is *now* Front street. The description if not inaccurate is certainly loose. Therefore, I say that General Stryker's date should be given preference, and as no information is obtainable showing any other date as the time of the actual demolition of the walls of the building to admit of the extension of Front street, that year, 1813, should, I think, unhesitatingly be accepted as the true date of the event.

It must be a source of pride to Trenton, that the Barracks here are the only ones of the five erected that are preserved in anything like original form and appearance. I have made inquiry of gentlemen living in the other cities where barracks were erected, namely, former Chancellor Magie, of Elizabeth, Captain James Parker, of Perth Amboy, Mr. Henry S. Haines, of Burlington, surveyor-general of West New Jersey, and Mr. William H. Benedict, of New Brunswick, and learn from them that the old barracks in their respective towns are totally demolished, with one exception, and that is in Burlington, where but fragments of the original structure remain. These remnants of barracks are incorporated into St. Paul's Catholic Church and Parochial School, Burlington. They consist of the extreme end of the wings of the Barracks, one being the rear portion of the church and the other the rear of the school. The barracks there, unlike those at Trenton, were built of brick instead of stone. Mr. Francis B. Lee and I visited Burlington and inspected the remains of its barracks in company with Mr. Henry S. Haines, during the month of December last (1910). Mr. Lee gave it as his opinion, that the reason the Burlington barracks were built of brick was because bricks were manufactured in that locality at that time, and no stone quarries existed in the neighborhood. At Trenton, as we know, there are numerous quarries, one or more of which were open in pre-revolutionary days.

Besides the old mansion on the corner, that part of the Barracks which was the north wing proper, is now incorporated into the three dwelling houses to the west of the

mansion, being Nos. 106, 108 and 110, West Front street. The two houses adjoining the mansion are under the original Barracks' roof as is plainly to be seen by a mere inspection, and by comparison with the roof on the old building which is intact on the south side of the street. The most westerly house is extended several feet into Front street and built above the original Barracks' roof. The lower west wall, however, of this building, and the rear walls of all of them are of the original structure of 1758.

It will be noticed by even a casual observer, that the front wall of the mansion and the two adjoining houses on the west, are of brick instead of stone, and the question arises: were the buildings thus constructed originally, or were they altered at or after the time of the extension of Front street? Mr. Jules S. Ferriot, a mason-builder of this city, at my request made a careful inspection of these buildings and gives it as his unqualified opinion, that the brick walls were not originally incorporated in them, but were put in afterwards. This, coupled with General Stryker's assertion, that the building was "entirely of stone," seems to abundantly show that the brick walls must have been of later origin than the structure itself. Another evidence that the brick walls were put in at or after the alteration of the Barracks is this: When the change was made a new front wall had to be supplied to the most westerly part of the building on the north side of Front street, and that wall when built extended into the street on a line with the officers' quarters on the east, leaving the intermediate building a few feet back in recess, as the two houses composing it exist today. The front wall of the most westerly house, now of stucco, was of brick, as Major Samuel S. Armstrong has informed me, and he says he well remembers his father, the late Horatio G. Armstrong, covering it with stucco and raising the roof another story in the year 1863. Still another evidence, and one which is quite conclusive, of the fact that the brick front walls were put in the buildings on

the north side of Front street west of the officers' quarters after the extension of that thoroughfare, is the fact that there are no ends of sawed-off joists which supported the balcony to be seen upon the face of the front walls of the two houses in recess on Front street, while a glance up under the projecting eves, will plainly show the marks of the square upright posts that supported the balcony. This clearly indicates that the balcony was there, and out of some other walls than those there now must have projected the timbers that held the floor. Ergo, there must have been another wall there originally, and that wall must have been a stone wall corresponding with the one still extant on the face of the Barracks on the south side of the street. This reason does not exist as to the front wall of the mansion, but there is abundant evidence without it, and that evidence applies to all four houses on the north side of the street.

My theory is, that when Front street was extended and the north wing of the Barracks including the officers' quarters was detached and turned into residences, the brick walls were put in the fronts by the then owner or owners to give them a more modern appearance and to dissociate them as much as possible from the old Barracks of which they had been an integral part, little dreaming that that association would be a desideratum in future generations.

A matter barely mentioned, and which is of interest, is the fact that the Barracks have been known to some extent as "White Hall." Reference to them by that name is to be found frequently in old conveyances. Lossing in his "Field Book of the Revolution," vol. 2, page 244, makes mention of the building by that name and prints a sketch of it made by himself, when on his visit to Trenton in search of historic data in the year 1848.

Some of the pictures of the "Old Barracks" that have heretofore appeared, have shown it with plain walls running from the ground to the overhanging eves of its roof, and some have shown it with a balcony between

the first and second stories on the inner sides of the square. That the balcony existed there is the most cogent proof. This matter has already been touched upon in explaining about the brick front walls in the present structures on the north side of Front street.

A glance at the walls facing north and east of the detached portion on the south side of Front street, will disclose the ends of sawed off joists on a line with the second floor. These joists are close together, thus giving the balcony great strength, which was required. This fact, coupled with the pictures, which amount to corroborating evidence, establish, beyond doubt, the fact of the existence of the balcony in the early days of the structure, and, therefore, I have had the balcony incorporated into the drawing which I send you. Another thing: Mr. MacGinnis, who drew the picture, discovered the exact number of posts that supported the balcony and has correctly reproduced them. The marks are still visible under the eves of the remaining roof on both sides of the street, and indicate the entire number originally existing.

I will trespass upon your time to exploit but a single other thought, and one for which I claim no originality; one that has been rather wished than hoped for,—but one that is perfectly feasible, and may some day be an accomplished reality. It is the restoration of the "Old Barracks" to their original condition. Independence Hall, the historic old State House in Philadelphia, has been restored, why not the "Old Barracks" at Trenton?

In my address at the unveiling of the tablets, I took occasion to remark, that in a humble way it may be said that this building bears something of the same relation to Trenton as does the Tower of London to the historic city of that name. We cannot boast that this stronghold has never fallen into the hands of a foreign foe, as England proudly boasts of her Tower, but we may with pride allude to the fact, that within these walls no such frightful scenes of blood and carnage have been enacted as in the gloomy fortress on the banks of the River

Thames. With us, quite differently, these bloodless Barracks are associated with hallowed memories of the Revolution.

Think of the possibilities to be derived from a restoration of this historic structure! Within its walls might be instituted an armory, as in the Tower of London, where various weapons used in warfare might be exhibited, especially weapons which are of historic value in themselves. Meetings of patriotic societies could be there held, and innumerable other uses and advantages could be attained. These are but suggestions. This is a fact: If these Barracks were restored they would comprise one of the most, if not the most historic building in the state of New Jersey! Is this not a matter in which not only the citizens of Trenton, but the citizens of the state should take an interest? Are not the "Old Barracks" something for the people of New Jersey to cherish with pride? At least, the Barracks as they now exist will be preserved, and I cannot, I think, more fittingly conclude this article than to again quote from my address at the unveiling of the tablets and say:

"If in the calm that succeeded the storm—if during the period that followed the Revolutionary struggle—the supporters and defenders of our country, weary of the conflict, turned their hearts and minds to other things, and permitted the ravages of time to obliterate many an object of historic interest, we, their descendants, atone for their sins of omission, and, fired with an unalterable zeal, are resolved, that every remaining relic shall be preserved—a sacred altar! at whose shrine we may worship."

In this spirit these Barracks will be preserved:—preserved in the name of their builders; in the name of their owners:—for all time and for all the people,—a link connecting the martial past with the peaceful present.

Respectfully,

Edwin Robert Walker.

Trenton, February 6, 1911.

NOTES OF A JOURNEY FROM PHILADELPHA TO NEW MADRID, TENNESSEE, 1790.

CONTRIBUTED BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

There has recently been added to the Manuscript Division of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, many of the papers of the firm of Reed and Forde (composed of John Reed and Standish Forde), well known in their day as enterprising merchants of Philadelphia, both in the foreign and domestic trade. These papers, which date from just after the close of the Revolution to the end of the second war with England, are interesting and valuable, for they cover a period when the merchants of this city were striving to regain their export trade, largely suspended during the Revolution, and developing an extensive trade in the territories dependent on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers.

Many accounts of "Adventures," in which this firm were interested have been preserved. The following "Notes of a Journey from Philadelphia to New Madrid," in the Winter of 1790–91, made by a member of the firm (in connection with the account in the firm Ledger, under the caption "Adventure to the Mississippi"), describes the difficulties of navigation of both the Ohio and Mississippi, and the delays and expenses connected therewith, over a century ago. Flour formed the chief part of this "Adventure," and was exchanged for furs at the following prices, per skin: Bear, $1; Wild Cat, 65c; Otter, $3; Beaver, $1; Buffalo, $10, and Cash.

Journal.

Wednesday, 27 October 1790, started from Philada at 9 o'clock, stop'd at the 6 mile tavern and wrote to R & F. [Reed & Forde] by a negro wagoner. Fed at Unicorn

Tavern, 16 miles, a good house; went on to the 37 mile stone, Sheaf of Wheat Tavern; good house excellent food for man and horse.—Breakfasted at —— 12½ miles then to Lancaster 18 miles, to Weavers and Cross Roads, and to Middletown, lodged at Mores', tolerable house; to Chamber's Ferry on Susquehanna, crossed and went 8 miles to Pollock's. Breakfasted and went on to Carlisle put up and fed at Postlethwaits; then to W—— 12½ miles, a private house. Lodged and started at daylight. Breakfasted at Sheriff Leipers, 15 miles; lodged at Capt. Burds, 24 miles. Breakfasted at foot of Sideling Hill, 9 miles, fed at Morgan's 13 miles, lodged at Todd's, 14 miles. Breakfasted at Medsker's, 9½ miles; fed at Spykers, 11 miles; lodged at Coldpenny's, 11 miles. Breakfasted at Jones Mill, 7 miles; fed at Woodrufs, 14 miles; lodged at —— 9 miles; to the Broad Ford 2 miles. Breakfasted at an Irishmans, 5 miles, bad house; then to Redstone 12 miles; arrived at one —— on Wednesday, the 3d of November.

Nov. 4th. At Redstone, met with John Hayden.

Nov. 5th. To the mill on Ten mile by Virgin Ferry.

Nov. 6th. To Clayres.

Nov. 7–8th. At Morgantown.

Nov. 9th. Set out Early for Tyger Valley Falls with Major Hanway Haidly & Mr. Hickman.

Nov. 11th. To Laidly's Mill, on White Clay.

Nov. 12th. To the Ore Bank, 5 miles from Morgantown and return.

Nov. 13–15h. At Morgantown and the Mill.

Nov. 16th. In the morning to Redstone.

Nov. 17–18th. Waiting for the wagons.

Nov. 19th. This evening the wagons arrived at Redstone.

Nov. 20th. Loaded the boat in part.

Nov. 21st. Finished loading and left Jackson's Mill at 2 p.m.

Nov. 22d. At 3 o'clock a.m. run on Pierce's mill-dam;

hired a flat boat and carried the bags on shore; reloaded and started at 6 p.m.[1]

Nov. 23d–24th. Got to Pittsburg on 23d at 12 o'clock, employed in building chimney, pump &c. Left Pittsburg 9 o'clock in the morning; was obliged to come to, high wind till 10 o'clock—35 miles from Pitt.

Nov. 25th. At one o'clock got on a gravel bank running from the point of a low island, about 30 miles above Wheeling & 70 below Pitt, the river being very low—got all hands out to push off, but no success.

Nov. 26th. Hired 4 men from the shore and at 11 o'clock, with handspikes, every man in the water, attempted to pry her off, but could not effect it. Afterwards tried to carry the Flour on shore in our canoe, but it would not do. Sent the men off at 1 o'clock, 4 miles, to hire a flat, which came along side at 9 o'clock, with three hands, two of them very indifferent.

Nov. 27th. At 2 o'clock in the morning, it being moonlight, began to unload the boat every hand employed, landed the Flour about a mile below, and after taking out 4 loads (100 Bbls.) by getting into the water, with handspikes and shifting the remaining part of cargo back & forward, got the boat off the bar at noon.[2] Loaded the Flour and left the shore at 3 o'clock. Struck a bar in the middle of the river, (running from the head of an island on the Virginia shore) two or three times; got off and attempted to make the shore at 6 o'clock but found the water too shallow. At 7 o'clock put in good harbor on the Indian shore. The whole day found the water so low that we were fearful of proceeding.

Nov. 28th. Started at daylight, passed Buffalo Creek at 10 o'clock; sent the canoe ashore; while there M^c^Farlain, the principal inhabitant of the place shot himself with pistol—no cause could be assigned. Got within 4 miles of Wheeling.

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[1] It cost £4.2.6., to get the boat afloat.

[2] The expenses were £3.

Nov. 29th. Got up at daylight; stop'd at Wheeling at 8 o'clock for half an hour. Rowed hard all day to within 2 miles of Fish Creek.

Nov. 30th. Set out at moon-rise, the water being somewhat deeper and swifter passed by Muskingum at 2 o'clock and Little Kenahwa at daylight.

Dec. 1st. At 10 o'clock, 17 miles below the Little Kenahwa stop'd with the canoe. At 11 o'clock (night) passed the Little Falls. Thirty miles below Belleville there are two islands which must be left on the left hand so as to pass the Falls close to the Indian shore.

Dec. 2d. At 10 o'clock went on shore with the canoe at the Great Kenahwa; at noon stop'd with the boat at the French Settlement, 4 miles lower down, purchased excellent bread and good venison. Set out at 2 o'clock, very windy all night.

Dec. 3d. Floated all day and

Dec. 4th, passed the Scioto and arrived at Lewistown.

Dec. 5th. Staid there until 3 p.m., and arrived at Head Quarters.

Dec. 6th. At 7 o'clock breakfasted with Gen. Harmar, and set out at 1 p.m. Stop'd at Simm's settlement at the Miami; at 3 o'clock started and floated all night.

Dec. 7th. Passed the mouth of the Kentucky at 8 o'clock—floated all day and put in 8 miles above the 18 mile island at 5 p.m. This being a remarkable place for Indians, we ty'd out as far as possible and kept up a double guard.

Dec. 8th. Set off one hour before day and arrived at the Falls at 10 o'clock.

Dec. 9th. Kept the boat above the Falls.

Dec. 10th. Found the water falling very fast, moved the boat over the Falls at 2 o'clock and got safely moored at the lower landing. Continued at the Falls during the time, purchased a flat boat and a small Kentucky boat; loaded them with rations & 39 bbls Flour.

Dec. 20th. Started from the lower landing at 5 a.m., passed Salt River at night.

Dec. 21st. Came within sight of two islands about noon 2 miles above the island, sent a canoe ashore with three hands to get plank for the Kentucky boat. They saw a fresh camp of Indians. The wind and swell raised in an unaccountable manner in a few minutes, and with great difficulty we made the shore, all safe after one and a half hours rowing. During this time a person on the Indian shore continued calling to us, and before night we sent the canoe and brought him on board. He had been taken the Saturday before, within 4 miles of Clarksville with about £400. cash, the proceeds of a load of whiskey he had taken to the Post. He made his escape on Wednesday 15th., and had lived on nuts until he came on board; was near perishing from cold and hunger. This was the third time he had been taken by the savages and made his escape; he lives near Winchester, in Virginia. The wind and swell continuing high, and ahead, we were compelled to continue near shore until midnight, and floated all night.

Dec. 22d. Passed an island on the right hand at 8 a.m., and continued floating; a light wind ahead all day, abated in the evening.

Dec. 23d. High wind with a considerable swell until 10 a.m.,—wind still ahead but moderate. Passed a small island on the left, then a long island, and later passed another island and then one off the mouth of Green River.

Dec. 24th. At 7 o'clock passed on the right bank of one island, and three hours later a small one lying near the Indian shore. After leaving it a mile, the river makes quite a bend on the Indian shore, the boat therefore was headed for the opposite shore. Ten minutes after passing a long narrow island, we were hailed by the boats astern that they were aground, and quickly went to their assistance in a canoe. They were fast on an island of rocks with a few willows on it; got into the water with handspikes and

made an effort, without success, to get the boats off, they having gone on when all hands were hard at work with the oars. There was no chance of getting them off until the water raised and their position dangerous, being near the Indian trail. We thought it advisable to put off, which we did at one o'clock.

Dec. 25th. After floating an hour or more, the wind began to rise, blowing from the right hand shore. Passed the mouth of the Wabash near 3 p.m. The wind continuing to rise with very severe squalls, attempted to land on an island, but found the shore full of fallen timbers.

Dec. 26th. Passed an island at noon & two others in sight; the wind brisk ahead and continued thro' the night.

Dec. 27th. Wind ahead with considerable floating ice, which we were required to break through. At 11.30 passed an island that is 15 miles above the mouth of the Ohio, and at 2.10 p.m. got into the Mississippi, keeping hard over to the opposite shore to prevent getting into a large bend full of sawyers. We found the water of the Mississippi excessive low, and grounded on a Sand beach. All employed to make land on an island, and after rowing excessive hard, grounded 60 yards from the shore, and as it was quite dark and we saw no prospect of getting off, we lay there until morning. At 6.30 a.m. grounded again. The wind was excessive high, so kept a double watch all night.

Dec. 28th. At daylight the water had nearly left us, having fallen 18 inches; made two attempts with handspikes to get off, but in vain; sent two hands in the canoe to obtain assistance, 40 miles distant, and 6 miles below the mouth of the Ohio. We had to find water to float the canoe, and as the squalls nearly filled it with water, encamped on an island.

Dec. 29th. Set out in the canoe at daylight, the weather excessive cold. Lodged on the bank just above the head of an island above New Madrid.

Dec. 30th. Started at daylight and arrived at New

Madrid at 9 a.m.; found the Commandant very polite and ready to render every assistance in his power. Employed the day in procuring a Perogue and hands to go up the river.

Dec. 31st. Cutting away the logs to get the Perogue out of the Bayou; started with 9 hired men at 3 o'clock & lay at the head of New Madrid Island.

Jany. 1, 1791. Set out very early, the weather excessive cold, made but little way, there being much ice in the river. Encamped — miles from N. Madrid.

Jany. 2d. Started at daylight, but more ice obliged us to camp; made but a few miles this day.

Jany. 3d. Set out at daylight; the weather pleasant but still so much ice, could make but little progress.

Jany. 4th. Could not start until 10 a.m., owing to the ice, and only made about — miles.

Jany. 5th. Set out very early, obliged to stop at hunting camp two miles higher up, being entirely out of provisions. Encamped within 3 miles of the boat.

Jany. 6th. Set out and at 10 a.m. reached the boat; employed to 3 p.m. in cutting roller skids & handspikes; then began at the boat to try with rollers to get her off, she being about 70 yards from the water.

Jany. 7th. Found the rollers would not do. Sent the Perogue off early for poles of Slippery Elm, and about 10 o'clock got them under and had the boat in the water before sundown. A fall of rain compelled us to put part of the loading on board.[3]

Jany. 8th. The weather very cold, the men suffered, being obliged to wade in the water to load. Set out with the Flat at 2 o'clock into the bend below, the wind being high were fearful of being again drove on the sand beach, and did not wait to take in the whole of our cargo, had it brought after us in the Perogue.

Jany. 9th. Set out at daylight, rowed very hard all

[3] The cost of getting the boat afloat; hire of 9 men and the perogue (or dug out) for ten days, with their board, £99.4.8 cy.

day and got to within 20 miles of New Madrid. As we were rowing to make the shore, got in a sawyer lying under water, obliged to unload part of the cargo. Weather cold with snow; finally made the shore.

Jany. 10th Set out at daylight and got without any accident within 4 miles of ——, the wind very light part of the day.

Jany. 11th. Arrived at New Madrid at 9 o'clock all safe; the small boat we left on the island in company, having overtaken us the evening of the 8th., ——

THE MOTHER OF "MARY, THE MOTHER OF WASHINGTON."

BY CHARLES H. BROWNING.

In Mr. Hayden's monumental work, entitled "Virginia Genealogies," 1891 (pp. 43, &c.), may be found an almost exhaustive genealogy of the celebrated BALL family of Virginia, the family of the "Mother of Washington." In Mr. Hayden's sketch (pp. 56–58) of Colonel Joseph Ball, of "Epping Forest," in Lancaster Co., Va., he states that the Colonel was born in England, 24 May, 1649, and died at his seat, and that his will, signed 25 June, was proved at the Lancaster Co. C. H., 11 July, 1711, and gives the will in full (pp. 58–59). But as to the wives of the said Col. Ball, who was the father of Mary Ball (his only child by his second wife), who married 6 March, 1730 (his second wife), Augustine Washington, of Stafford Co., Va. (died 12 April, 1743), and was by him the mother of General Washington, he is not so certain (see pp. 56–7). Admitting, according to Mr. Hayden, and others, that Col. Ball had a first wife, named Elizabeth, "who died prior to 1703," Mr. Hayden is uncertain as to particulars concerning his second wife, the mother of Mary Ball, and one of the grandmothers of Washington. He states she was "Mary Johnson, widow, of Lancaster Co., Va., born in England, died in Lancaster Co., Va., 17—." Mr. Hayden admits that this is but slight data and that "history of his (Col. Ball's) first and second wife is more or less traditional." However, passing by his identification of the first wife, of the second wife, the grandmother of Gen. Washington, Mr. Hayden says that the proof that Col. Ball married the widow Johnson in 1707–8, "is based on the fact that Mary Ball, his daughter by this union, died in her 82d year, on 25 Aug., 1789,

which places her birth at 1707–8," and that Col. Ball was a widower on 7 Feb., 1707, for on this date he executed a deed, his wife not joining him in it must have then been deceased. And further, "that he (Col. Joseph Ball) married the widow Johnson in Lancaster Co., appears from a deed recorded in that county, 12 Feb., 1703, from said Col. Ball to one of his sons-in-law (Raleigh Chinn, husband of a daughter by his first wife), which deed was witnessed by 'Mary Johnson,[1]'" who, it is presumed, was the widow he subsequently married.

I am pleased to be able to supplement Mr. Hayden's brief account of Gen. Washington's Grandmother Ball, and supply the companion will to that of Col. Joseph Ball, his grandfather (printed in full in "Virginia Genealogies," p. 58), by the following copy of the will of the mother of "Mary, the mother of Washington," found last summer.

CHARLES H. BROWNING.

Ardmore, Pa.

"In the name of God, Amen. the seventeenth day of December in the year of Lord God, one Thousand seven hundred and twenty, I, MARY HEWES, of St. Stephens Parish in Northumberland Co. Widdow, being sick and weak in body but of sound and perfect memory, thanks be to Almighty God for the same, and calling to mind the uncertain state of this transitory life and that all flesh must yield unto death, when it shall please God to call, Do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament.

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[1] Because "Mary Johnson" was a witness to a deed of Col. Ball, her future husband, Mr. Moncure D. Conway presumed ("Washington and Mount Vernon," pp. xlv and xxv) that she was his housekeeper at that time, and a "plebeian," and that when Col. Ball married her, he conciliated his children by his first wife with gifts of land before the marriage took place. (See *Mag. of Am. His.*, Vol. xvii, p. 197, note, and Hayden, p. 57.) Mr. Conway and Mr. Hayden agreed that "history is silent" as to the Widow Johnson.

"First.—I give and bequeathe my soul to God that gave it me, and my body to the earth to be burried in decent Christian burrial at the discretion of my Executors, in these Presents Nominated, and as toutching such worldly estate which it hath pleased God to bestow upon me.

"I give devise and dispose of in the following manner and form ——

"Impr.—I give and devise unto my daughter MARY BALL, One young likely negro woman, to be purchased for her out of my estate, by my executors, and to be delivered unto her, the said MARY BALL, at the age of eighteen years, but my Will is, if the said MARY BALL should Dye without issue lawfully begotten of her body that the said Negro woman with the increase shall return to my loving son JOHN JOHNSON to him, his heirs and assigns for ever.

"Item.—I give and bequeathe unto my said Daughter MARY BALL two gold rings, the one being a large Hoop and the other a stoned Ring.

"Item.—I give unto my said Daughter MARY BALL one young Mare and her Increase which said Mare I formerly gave her by words of mouth ——

"Item.—I give and bequeathe unto my said Daughter MARY BALL Sarftinent furniture for the bed her father JOSEPH BALL left her,[2] viz: One suit of good Curtains and Vallens, One Rugg, One Quilt, one Pair Blankets.

"Item.—I give and bequeathe unto my said Daughter MARY BALL two Diaper Table Clothes, marked M B,

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[2] In his will, Col. Joseph Ball, gave "unto my Loving wife, Mary Ball, the feather Bed, bolsters, and all the furniture thereto belonging, whereon I now lie in my own Lodging chamber, as it stands, and is now used, and all the chairs that is in the house that are single nailed." And "I give to my daughter, MARY BALL, all my feathers yt are in ye Kitchen Loft, to be put into a bed for her." He also devised to his daughter, MARY BALL, 400 acres of land in Richmond Co., Va., and also three negroes. He devised 100 acres of land lying in Lancaster Co.,Va., to "Eliza Johnson, ye daughter of my beloved wife."

with Tuck, and one Dozen of Diaper Napkins, two towells, six plates, two peuter Dishes, two Basons, one large Iron Pott, one frying Pan, one large trunk.

"Item.—I give and bequeathe unto my said Daughter MARY BALL one good young pacing horse, together with a good Silk Plush side saddle to be purchased by my executors out of my estate.

"Item.—I give and bequeathe unto my Daughter ELIZABETH BONAM[2] [Bonham] one suit of white and black Calico, being part of my own wearing apparel.

"Item.—I give and bequeathe unto my Daughter MARY BALL, and I do hereby appoint her to be under Tutelidge and government of Captain George Eskridge[3] during her minority.

"Item.—My will is, and I do hereby oblidge my executors to pay to the proprietor or his agent for the Securing of my said Daughter MARY BALL, her Land, twelve pounds if so much due.

"Item.—All the rest of my Estate Real or personal whatsoever and wheresoever, I give and Devise unto my Son JOHN JOHNSON, and to his heirs lawfully to be begotten of his Body, and for default of such Issue I devise the same unto MARY BALL and her heirs lawfully to be begotten of her Body, and for default of such Issue, I give and devise the said estate unto my Daughter ELIZABETH BONAM, her heirs and assigns for ever.

"Item.—I do hereby appoint my said Son JOHN JOHNSON and my Trusty and well beloved Friend George Eskridge Executors of this my last Will and Testament and also Revoke and Disanul all other former Wills or Testaments by me here tofore made, or caused to be made, either by Hand or Writeing, ratifieing and conforming this to be my last Will and Testament, and

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[3] Mrs. Mary (Ball) Washington possibly named her son "George," in honor of her guardian, Captain George Eskridge, who *d.* in Cople parish, Westmoreland Co., Va., Will, 27 Oct., 1735 (Hening's Va. Statutes, Vol. v, p. 392).

no other, in Witness where off I have here unto sett my hand and Seale the Day and Date first above written.

"The Mark and Seale of MARY (///) HEWES.[4]

"Signed Sealed, Published and Declared by MARY HEWES to be her Last Will and Testament in the presence of us

"Robert (X) Bradley
his mark

"The Mark of Ralph (R) Smith."

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[4] When she made her will, she was the widow and relict of Captain Richard Hewes, of St. Stephen's parish, Northumberland Co., Va., in which county, at Heathville C. H., her will as above was found. I do not know the date of her third marriage, but it was between 1711–1720, nor do I know at this writing when Captain Hewes died. It is supposed, and a tradition of long standing (Hayden, p. 57), that her maiden name was Montague, and that she was the daughter, or granddaughter, of Peter Montague, a burgess for Nansemond Co., Nov., 1652, and July, 1653; for Lancaster Co., March, 1657–8, and for Northumberland Co., March, 1659. (Hening's Virginia Statutes, Vol. i, pp. 373, 379, 431, and Neill's "Virginia Carolorum," pp. 230, 232, 262.) It is said, by proof from Burke's "Armoury," that the crest used by General Washington, in connection with the Washington coat of arms, was the one peculiar to the celebrated Montague family. (Hayden, p. 58.) Nothing definite is known of Mrs. Hewes's first husband, ... Johnson.

FIVE GOSSIPY LETTERS.

[The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has recently acquired a large quantity of correspondence of the firm of Reed and Forde, of this city, from which the following letters have been selected. Other selections will appear in subsequent numbers of the PENNA. MAG.]

YORK TOWN 27th May 1778.

DEAR JACK,

I receiv'd yours of 10th Inst & am Glad to find that Boston exceeds your expectation, don't doubt but you will like it much better when you are acquainted with some of our hearty Lads. Should be very happy if I could be there with you, that is not possible at present.

Sam is exchanged, has been at Camp these some days, past, but I have not the pleasure of seeing him yet neither has Richard who was with the whole fraternity. I fear I will not have an opportunity as he writes he is engaged in Gen. Greene's department, to be stationed in New England and going off immediately for Boston where I hope he will see you.

The specimen you gave me of your grand living, puts me in mind of the many happy days I have spent in the Dear place & almost makes my mouth water as you supposed, & long to be there more than I have done for some time past. I commend you for your prudent conduct on the Long Wharf on Sunday & would advise you not to counteract the Orders of those *Sunday Fishermen*, as many young fellows have brought themselves into trouble by it. I should be very sorry that should this be your case; when you are in a strange place you must conform to their Customs, that is to say, when you are with Yankees do as they do. . . . There are large Betts laid we shall be in possession of Philada. in a few weeks, perhaps my next may be from there.

Yours Sincerely

J. W. CHECKLEY.

[To JOHN REED, Boston.]

READING June 13th 1778.

DEAR JACK.

I wrote you by the return of Mr. Brailsford which I suppose you have received long before this. . . . I am here on a visit as doubtless you know—I am somewhat acquainted here—shall set off in a day or two for York Town, where I expect we shall finish in about two months. Do wish me joy, I have had the happiness to see my brother Sam, who stayed with me four days at York Town.

I have received Richard's & Col. Cranch's letters by Mr. Graydon, shall forward them the first opportunity. A General Exchange for those in the long service has taken place. John has gone in with what prisoners were in this place, so we have nobody to keep the Table.

Our present Quarters are much more disagreeable than when we kept here, we live at a Dutch house & of course we have our victuals cooked in the true Dutch taste & pay but *two* dollars pr day for this extra living. Gen. Mifflin would not be easy 'till Richard was with us—he was obliged to join us tho much against his will. The General has taken the command of Wayne's Division. Wayne & Hand are to be his Brigadiers, Lowry & Capt. Gray (formerly of Moylan's Regt.) his Aids. I believe they are over much pleased with it. Butler wrote him respecting our pay, Garrigues, Peters, Grant and myself are to be the same, with Cranch 75, Richard and Martin 50.—this is not so bad I assure you.

Your sincere friend

J. W. CHECKLEY.

[To JOHN REED, Boston.]

BOSTON 9th March 1779.

DEAR JACK

Poor Boston is now reduced to what it never was before, hundreds of families do not get a morsell of Bread for two weeks together. Bisketts which were formerly

one Copper pr. piece are now one third of a dollar & exceedingly scarce at that. God knows what will be the event as there is a great uneasiness on the embargo laid on Grain by the Southern States. There is a Committee appointed by the Councel to go as far as Maryland to purchase Wheat and to supply their necessities. Hats are 75 Dls pr. piece, Broad Cloth £20 pr yard—these rather lower than they are with you. We have a great plenty of most excellent Lemmons & Oranges, Port Wine four dollars, Maderia 6 Dls pr. bottle, meat of almost every kind is a dollar pr pound, in short it seems as if the devil had possessed the Country folks—there is a great enmity betwixt them and the Town. No prizes have lately arrived here.

Doubtless you have the letter my brother wrote you from Providence giving an acct. of my brother Sam's death.

Your sincere friend

J. W. Checkley.

[To John Reed, Philada.]

Providence Mar. 1, 1779.

Dear Jack,

I rec'd this minute the melancholy news of brother Sam's death of the Dropsy. . . I enquired as you requested me for Capt. Hopkins, but I learned by a letter from Boston that 3 frigates viz. the Warren, Queen of France and the Ranger are waiting in Boston harbor only for a fair wind, having some transports under convoy with Col. Craft's Regiment of the Train & 12 pieces Artillery, the destination of which is not known, but it is concluded they are bound to the Southward. We yesterday received an account of six British ships of the line being captured by the French, the circumstances of which are, that the British Ministry having rec'd intelligence of a reinforcement sailing to join Count d'Estang,

immediately dispatched six ships of the line to intercept them, which coming to the knowledge of the French, they immediately despatched 12 ships of the line in pursuit of them, came up with them and took the whole, but the account wants confirmation.

I hear there has been a fire near Chestnut street in Front street, don't fail to write me how our friends near the corner came off—make my compliments to them.

Yours in sincerity

RICH[d] CHECKLEY.

[To JOHN REED, Philada.]

BOSTON June 20, 1779.

DEAR JACK.

I have been here a few days with my sister Sayer (who is travelling for her health), but I assure you the gay circles I here spend my time in do not afford me any amusement compared with those happy hours we have spent together in company with those of our acquaintances in Philadelphia. I see so much formality & ceremony observed in all companies that I have contracted I may also say an inveterate prejudice against Boston. I believe my disgust at the present carryings on may be attributed in a great measure to my living in so retired a manner for some months past, but since I left Philadelphia I do not seem to relish any amusement with the same Degree of satisfaction that I did when with you, for reasons that you are not ignorant of.

I congratulate you on the agreeable News received from the Southward & hope that advantages together with the means that are making use of to establish the Currency will render the situation of our Public Affairs more favorable. . .

Your Friend

RICH[d] CHECKLEY.

[To JOHN REED, Philada.]

NOTES ON THE LIFE AND WORK OF ROBERT COLEMAN.

BY JOSEPH LIVINGSTON DELAFIELD.

Robert Coleman, b. Castlefinn, near Strabane, county Donegal, Province of Ulster, Ireland, November 4th, 1748; d. Lancaster, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, August 14th, 1825; m. at Reading Furnace, Chester County, Pennsylvania, October 4th, 1773, Ann Old, (dau. of James and Margaretta (Davies) Old, of Pool Forge, near Churchtown, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania); b. May 21st, 1756, but where does not appear; d. October 11th, 1844, but where does not appear.

It has been said that Mr. Coleman's father was Thomas Coleman, b. 1709, d. July 30th, 1778, son of Peter Coleman, b. 1664, d. May 2nd, 1726, both of Castlefinn, and both buried there in the Dononyhome Churchyard; however, another account gives his father's name as Isaac Coleman, a son of Abraham Coleman, both of Castlefinn. Nothing certain appears as to whether his father's family was of English or of Scotch descent, or how long resident in Ireland. The coat of arms and crest of the Coleman family is said to be exactly like that carried by the family of the same name in Langley, County Wils, England, viz:—

Coat of Arms:—on a pale rayonnie or a lion rampant, gules.

Crest:—a caltrop or, between two wings ar.

From this has arisen the rumor, that Mr. Coleman's family was one of the many English families who were induced to settle in Ireland, on being given large grants of land by Charles I, King of England, or by Cromwell. It is said that the family name was then spelt "Colman." No mention of his mother has been found. That he had a full brother, William, and no full sisters, appears to be

undoubted, while the rumor that he had other brothers either of the whole or half blood, seems to be without foundation. His father married twice, having, by his first wife, the two children mentioned, and by his second wife, six daughters.

The family homestead at Castlefinn, seems to have become over crowded, and it is said that the two boys William and Robert, were sent to America by a brother-in-law, a clergyman of the Church of England, then settled in Ireland. William, the eldest, left home when quite young, immigrating to Canada where he settled and left, it is believed, a numerous progeny. In 1764, Robert followed his brother's example and sailed for Philadelphia, taking with him letters of introduction from his father to fellow countrymen, who had previously settled in America, among them Marks Biddle, a merchant of standing and wealth in Philadelphia. It is said that he landed at Philadelphia with but three guineas in his pocket. There appears to be no doubt, that young Coleman first found employment with Mr. Biddle in his store. By one account, there was among his father's friends in Philadelphia one Blair McClanachan, to whom the young man presented his letter of introduction and this gentleman took an interest in him, recommending him to Mr. Read, the prothonotary at Reading, Pennsylvania, where Coleman obtained employment and remained for about two years. When he left Reading, he took service with Peter Grubb, one of the best known of the iron masters of his day, and is said to have come to his employer's favorable notice, because of a fellow workman desiring an order asked Coleman to write it. This order came to Mr. Grubb's attention, and he inquired who wrote it, and immediately installed Coleman as his bookkeeper at Hopewell Forge at one hundred pounds per annum. There he remained for about six months. On leaving Mr. Grubb, he took what proved to be his last position as an employee, namely, a clerkship at Quittopehilla Forge, near Lebanon,

under James Old. Another account has it, that while he was in attendance at Mr. Biddle's store, James Old, of Spring Forge, Chester County, Pennsylvania, appeared in person to buy a lot of goods and was so much pleased with the address of the young man and with his good handwriting, that he offered Coleman better wages to come with him and act as bookkeeper and clerk at the forge. Mr. Coleman accepted the offer, and before long was in full confidence of his employer, which led promptly to his being taken into partnership.

James Old was born in Wales, in 1730, but in what town does not appear. No mention of his parents has been found. He came to America in about 1750, but where he landed is not known. From the first he showed his great enterprise and ability, becoming a most successful iron master and one of the founders and captains of the industry in America. He served under Captain Matthew Smith, in the Quebec Expedition of 1775, enduring the terrible hardships of the march through Maine, and in 1776, was rewarded by a Captaincy in the Chester County, Pennsylvania Militia. He was a member of the Pennsylvania State Legislature from Lancaster County in 1791, 1792 and 1793; a Justice of the Peace for the districts composing the townships of Caernarvon and Brecknock, Lancaster County, and a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. He owned and operated mines, furnaces and forges in Lancaster and Chester Counties, Pennsylvania and in Albemarle County, Virginia, and cast cannon and shot for the Colonial forces. He married Margaretta Davies, a daughter of Gabriel Davies, a Welshman, who had settled in Radnor, Delaware County, Pennsylvania, but whose wife's name does not appear. Mr. and Mrs. Old had several sons and daughters, but it is said, that there are now no living descendants who bear the name of Old. Mr. Old died on May 1st, 1809, and was buried in the Bangor Churchyard, at Churchtown, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

While in the service of Mr. Old, Coleman lived with him and his family. It seems that he was at Speedwell Forge, one of Mr. Old's properties, and from thence removed, with Mr. Old's family, to Reading Furnace, on French Creek, Chester County, Pennsylvania, where he took to wife one of his employer's handsome daughters, Anna Old, the marriage ceremony being performed by the Rev. Dr. Thomas Barton. One account has it, that James Old being opposed, a runaway match ensued. Soon after his marriage, Mr. Coleman rented Talford Forge, near Norristown, where he remained about three years; from there he moved, in 1776, to Elizabeth Furnace, Lancaster County, which he first rented and afterwards purchased. Another account states that when that furnace was sold as the property of Baron Stiegel, Coleman was employed as its manager and that it was not long before he obtained a share in the company which operated the furnace, and finally came to possess the entire interest in the same. He became the best known iron master of his day, owning and operating mines, furnaces and forges in three counties in Pennsylvania, of which the Cornwall iron mines, in Lebanon County, are famous to this day, and not less than fifty thousand acres of timber land, from which to obtain the necessary supply of charcoal then used in smelting.

He was Lieutenant in Col. James Cunningham's Battalion of "Flying Camp," Lancaster County Militia, Pennsylvania, in 1776, and an officer in Colonel Pott's Battalion in the same year, and served in the battles of the Jersey Campaign of that year. He was with his Battalion at the Battle of Long Island, where he saw hard fighting and his men suffered severely. He continued in service as an officer until 1781. During the Revolution, Mr. Coleman cast cannon and ball for the use of the Continental Army, and forged chain bars which were designed to span the Delaware River for the defense of Philadel-

phia, against the approach of the British Fleet. In 1778, he took the oath of allegiance in Heidelberg Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. He served in the Pennsylvania State Legislature in 1783, and 1784 and was a member of the Pennsylvania State Constitutional Convention of 1790, which framed the Constitution of that State. He was appointed an Associate Judge of Lancaster County in 1791, and served for almost a quarter of a century; for nearly twenty years of which time he acted as Presiding Judge in consequence of Judge John Joseph Henry's indisposition. In 1792 he was Presidential Elector at large, and in 1796 was elected Presidential Elector from Pennsylvania, with instructions to vote for John Adams. He raised and commanded a troop of cavalry during the Whiskey Insurrection.

In 1809 he retired from active business and took up his residence in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where on his death his remains were buried in the Episcopal grounds and later, with the remains of his wife, removed within the walls of St. James Episcopal Church, Lancaster.

Mr. and Mrs. Coleman had issue fourteen children.

TOMBSTONE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE BAPTIST GRAVEYARD AT CAPE MAY COURT HOUSE, N. J.

COPIED BY MRS. EMMA STEELMAN ADAMS.

(Concluded.)

Selover, Abraham, d. Feb. 23, 1862, in his 53rd yr.
Mary, wife of Abraham Selover, d. Sept. 22, 1894, in her 82nd yr.
Shaw, Harvey, d. Nov. 5, 1862, aged 72 yrs.
Shivers, Acinda, wife of Edward Shivers, d. Dec. 20, 1900, aged 29 yrs.
Sloan, Smith, d. Aug. 23, 1844, aged 54 yrs. 7 mos. & 4 ds.
Louis Mulford, wife of Smith Sloan, d. July 29, 1882, aged 88 yrs. 5 ms. 17 ds.
Hannah, dau. of Smith & Lois Sloan, d. Oct. 22, 1841, aged 17 yrs. 6 ms. & 14 ds.
Ephraim M., d. Jan. 26, 1898 in his 77th yr.
Rebecca, wife of Ephraim M. Sloan, d. May 13, 1886, in her 60th yr.
Hannah, dau. of Ephraim & Rebecca Sloan, d. Dec. 4, 1857, in the 3rd yr.
Smith, Daniel (deacon) d. Feb. 1786, aged 66 yrs.
Martha, wife of Daniel Smith, d. Mar. 9, 1794, in her 69th yr.
Rev. David, "who first preached in publick April 1773 was Ordained March 1776 and Died Feb. 1784 Aged 54 years.
Sarah, wife of Elihu Smith, d. Mar. 11, 1769, aged 29 yrs.
Hannah, wife of Rev. David Smith, d. 26 Feb. 1782, in her 48th yr.
Rebecca, b. May 3, 1800, d. Mar. 12, 1822, aged 21 yrs. 10 ms. 9 ds.
Enos, son of Seth W. & Ella S. Smith, d. Apr. 8, 1894, aged 18 yrs.
Hannah E., wife of John Smith, b. Jan. 17, 1838, d. June 10, 1895.
M. Rachel, d. Aug. 7, 1773, aged 68 yrs.
Seth W., b. May 22, 1811, d. Sept. 25, 1903.
Mary, wife of Philip Smith, d. Feb. 3, 1905, aged 72 yrs. (Mother.)
Snyder, John, d. Aug. 10, 1877, aged 77 yrs. 8 ms. 7 ds.
Sarah G. wife of John Snyder, d. Feb. 15, 1894, aged 91 yrs. 6 ms. 10 ds.
Sarah Jane, dau. of John & Sarah G. Snyder.
Spalding, Augustus, Late Private Co. C, 9th Reg. N. J. Vols., d. Apr. 4, 1896, aged 52 yrs.
John, b. June 22, 1819, aged 85 yrs. Co. I, 25th N. J. Inf.
John, d. Aug. 11, 1888, aged 1 yr. 11 ms.
Ellen R., wife of John Spalding, b. Oct. 30, 1820, d. Apr. 9, 1905. (Mother.)
Springer, Alexander R. Jr. 1874–1902. (Husband.)
Mabel, dau. of A. R. & Ida Springer, d. June 10, 1897.
Annie, dau. of Edward & Lydia Springer, d. Apr. 30, 1865, in her 6th yr.
Hannah E., dau. of Edward & Lydia Springer, d. Oct. 25, 1865, aged 2 yrs.

Benjamin, d. Nov. 11, 1844, aged 33 yrs. 1 mo. 5 ds.
Carrie T., wife of Wilbert O. Springer, b. Aug. 29, 1864, d. July 30, 1894.
Kizzie D., d. May 20, 1868, aged 29 yrs.
Jesse, b. Mar. 9, 1837, d. Mar. 25, 1902. (Father.)
Jesse, son of Samuel & Amelia Springer, d. Apr. 3, 1837, aged 5 yrs. 11 ms. & 26 ds.
Lydia E., wife of Edward D. Springer, and dau. of Enoch & Hannah Edwards, d. Oct. 2, 1867, in her 27th yr.
Samuel, son of Jesse & Anne Springer, b. Sept. 5, 1800, d. Mar. 7, 1877.
Amelia Stillwell, wife of Samuel Springer, & dau. of Daniel & Jane Whilldin, b. Oct. 29, 1809, d. July 9, 1889.
Sarah P., wife of Whildin Springer, & dau. of James & Hannah Beatty, d. Sept. 9, 1867, aged 33 yrs.
Amelia C., dau. of Whildin & S. P. Springer, d. Sept. 32, 1857, aged 4 ms. & 20 ds.
Maude, dau. of Whildin & S. P. Springer, d. Sept. 8, 1860, aged 11 ms.
Mary A., wife of Whildin Springer, b. July 20, 1826, d. May 7, 1883.
Sarah D., dau. of John & Rachel Douglass, b. Jan. 14, 1818, d. May 30, 1894.

Stites, Adonijah, d. Mar. 27, 1870, aged 51 yrs., 9 ms. & 15 ds.
Judith (small grave).
Catherine Swain (small grave).
Ray, dau. of Coleman & Annie E. Stites, d. Nov. 14, 1896, aged 8 ms. & 2 weeks.
Humphrey, d. Nov. 1, 1829, aged 75 yrs. 6 ms. 29 ds.
Priscilla, b. Oct. 9, 1764, d. Apr. 4, 1821, aged 56 yrs. 5 ms. 25 ds.
Humphrey, Jr. "who accidentally shot himself June 11, 1827, aged 24 yrs. 3 ms. 19 ds.
Joshua, b. Feb. 12, 1803, d. Apr. 5, 1880.
Abigail, wife of Joshua Stites, d. May 26, 1893, in her 90th yr.
Mary, d. Oct. 1, 1866, aged 6 yrs.
Prudence, d. June 5, 1899, aged 79 ys. (Mother.)
William A., d. Dec. 27, 1879, aged 62 yrs. 6 ms. 22 ds. (Father.)
Thomas S. b. July 14, 1810, d. Aug. 26, 1857.
Thomas S. Jr. b. Oct. 3, 1856, d. Sept. 25, 1864.
Susanna, dau. of Thos. & Anna E. Stites, d. Sept. 1st, 1854, aged 8 yrs. 1 mo. & 20 ds.
Thomas, b. Apr. 3, 1777, d. Dec. 9, 1867.
Rhoda, wife of Thomas Stites, d. Oct. 8, 1841, aged 50 yrs. 5 ms. 28 ds.
Charlotte, dau. of Thomas & Rhoda Stites, d. Oct. 13, 1845, aged 15 yrs. 9 ms. 24 ds.
Rachel, wife of Philip Stites, d. Nov. 20, 1817, in her 53rd yr.

Steel, Bessie, dau. of Samuel & Matilda Steel, d. Jan. 2, 1881, aged 6 yrs. & 10 ms.
John L., d. Mar. 18, 1902, aged 65 yrs. (Father.)
Susannah, wife of John L. Steel, d. Aug. 22, 1898, aged 60 yrs.

Stephens, Maria, wife of Reuben Y. Stephens, b. Oct. 8, 1813, d. June 2, 1888.

Reuben Y., d. Apr. 2, 1863, aged 57 yrs., & 6 ds.

Amasa, son of Reuben & Maria Stephens, d. Sept. 12, 1858 and was buried at sea. Age 19 yrs., 6 mo. & 6 ds. (Buried in "the Atlantic deep.")

Reuben, son of Reuben & Maria Stephens, d. Nov. 6, 1845, aged 11 mos. & 9 ds. ("Reuben Y. Stephens" on plate on rail.)

Tabitha A., dau. of Reuben & Maria Stephens, d. Mar. 15, 1865, aged 6 yrs. 5 mos. & 23 ds.

Stephen, d. Aug. 1, 1853, in his 75th yr.

Oliva, wife of Stephen Stephens, d. May 14, 1835, aged 49 yrs. 7 mo. 5 ds.

Olivia, dau. of Stephen & Olivia Stephens, d. June 25, 1824, aged 1 yr. 3 mo. & 21 ds.

Matthews, son of Stephen & Olivia Stephens, d. Jan. 16, 1827, aged 10 yrs, 8 ms. 16 ds.

Streaker, Julia, wife of William Streaker, d. Mar. 12, 1904, aged 55 ys.

Swain, Dr. Benj. F., d. Dec. 25, 1864. Buried at Burlington, Kansas.

I. Newton, son of Dr. Benj. F. & Jane S. Swain, and stepson of John B. Huffman, d. Mar. 5, 1885, aged 23 yrs.

Isaac, b. July 13, 1800, d. Sept. 15, 1885.

Mary H., wife of Isaac Swain, Esq. b. Jan. 31, 1802, d. Mar. 11, 1875.

Charles P., son of Isaac & Emma Swain, b. Aug. 2, 1861, d. Sept. 6, 1892.

Luther, son of I. & E. Swain, aged 7 mos. & 17 ds.

Isaac Swain Jr., b. June 4, 1831, d. Feb. 27, 1906.

Roxanna Hand, dau. of Roxanna & Samuel Eldredge, & widow of J. Holmes Hand and Return B. Swain. B. Mar. 15, 1825, d. Dec. 28, 1904.

Return B., b. Feb. 19, 1826, d. Nov. 30, 1901.

Rachel, wife of Return B. Swain, dau. of Ben. F. & Rachel Reeves, b. Sept. 28, 1830, d. Dec. 17, 1886.

Hubert, son of Return & Rachel Swain, b. Apr. 15, 1856, d. Apr. 17, 1862.

James Monroe, son of Return & Rachel Swain, b. Jan. 6, 1849, d. Dec. 7, 1881.

Minnie S., wife of James M. Swain, d. Sept. 26, 1880, aged 33 yrs. 2 ms.

Taylor, Charles A., b. Sept. 1, 1867, d. Apr. 10, 1897.

Minnie H., wife of Rem. S. Taylor, d. Nov. 24, 1904, aged 22 yrs.

Somers, b. June 20, 1846, d. Feb. 13, 1875.

Thompson, Dannelia Wiley, b. at St. Louis, Mo. d. at Cape May, Aug. 5, 1859, aged 5 ms.

Eliza L., wife of Capt. R. C. Thompson, dau. of Joseph & Mary Douglass, married Jan. 17, & d. July 6, 1894, in her 28th yr.

Elizabeth, wife of Rich[d] Thompson, d. Jan. 13, 1844 in her 44th yr.

Emma A., b. in St. Louis, Mo., d. at Cape May C. H. Aug. 11, 1864, aged 7 mos.

Isaac C., b. Jan. 14, 1826, d. Mar. 7, 1896.

Julia S., dau. of I. C. & M. Thompson, d. Jan. 26, 1855, aged 3 yrs.
Lydia R., dau. of I. C. & M. Thompson, d. Feb. 22, 1865, aged 3 yrs.
James, d. Jan. 7, 1870, aged 81 yrs., 3 mos. 3 ds.
Mary S., wife of James Thompson, d. May 27, 1881, aged 91 yrs. & 9 ms. "Weep not *children*," etc.
John Pissant, son of Richard & Mary H. Thompson, d. Nov. 16, 1822, aged 3 yrs. 5 ds.
Julia A. Hand, wife of Hugh M. Thompson, of St. Louis, Mo. b. Dec. 21, 1822, d. Aug. 17, 1864 at Cape May C. H. (N. J.).
Mary H. wife of Richard Thompson Jr. and only dau. of Major John Pissant, d. July 24, 1821, aged 27 yrs., 11 mo. & 10 ds.
Mary N., dau. of James & Mary Thompson, d. Oct. 8, 1821. (Child.)
Rachel Norton, wife of James Thompson, b. Jan. 30, 1815, d. Oct. 6, 1900. Also their son Coleman.
Richard, d. Sept. 27, 1857, in his 62nd yr.

Tindall, Richard T., b. Apr. 22, 1842, d. Oct. 8, 1861.
Anna E., wife of Richard T. Tindall, & dau. of Jeremiah & Mary Megray, b. Nov. 15, 1841, d. Apr. 27, 1872.
Richard, aged 15 months.
Rev. N. B., d. Apr. 10, 1855, aged 41 yrs.

Tomlin, Catharine, wife of Elizabeth M. Tomlin, d. Mar. 29, 1891 in her 45th yr.
Hannah Johnett, d. July 25, 1835, aged 5 mos.

Townsend, Abigail, b. Sept. 16, 1749, d. Feb. 11, 1834.
Charlotte H., d. Oct. 25, 1876, aged 58 yrs.
Hannah, wife of Wm. G. Townsend, d. Oct. 21, 1893, in her 28th yr.
Reuben, son of Joshua & Sarah Townsend, b. 1814, d. Sept. 3, 1903, aged 89 yrs, 7 ms. 4 ds.
Julia, wife of Reuben Townsend, d. Dec. 12, 1884, in her 61st yr.
Julia Agusta, d. Sept. 19, 1850, aged 16 ms.
Lucien P., son of Reuben & Julia Townsend, b. Mar. 6, 1860, d. Jan. 17, 1862.
Pennington Somers, d. Aug. 9, 1850, in his 7th yr.

Vanhorn, Margaret, wife of Rev. Peter Peterson Vanhorn, d. Mar. 8, 1775 in his 52nd yr.

Walker, Geo. Washington, d. Sept. 21, 1852, aged 36 yrs.
Hannah Eliza Hildreth, wife of G. W. Walker, d. Apr. 3, 1896 aged 84 yrs.

Waters, Rachel H., wife of Edward Waters, d. Apr. 25, 1835, aged 24 yrs. & 10 ms.

Watt, Rev. H. Sterling, d. Apr. 6, 1887, aged 36 yrs. "Our Pastor. Erected to his memory by the 1st Baptist Church."

Wellman, David, b. Nov. 11, 1804, d. Jan. 21, 1881.
Amanda, wife of David Wellman, b. Dec. 14, 1820, d. Aug. 3, 1877.

Wiley, John, M.D., son of David & Martha Wiley, b. in Salem Co., N. J. Aug. 7, 1815. A resident of Cape May Court House since 1837. Served with the Army of the Potomac for three yrs. during the War of the Rebellion as Surgeon of the Sixth N. J. Vols. d. at Cape May Court House Dec. 24, 1891.

Daniela H., dau. of Daniel and Esther Hewitt Hand, b. Feb. 22, 1824, married to John Wiley M.D., Dec. 23, 1845, d. Dec. 31, 1873.

John H., son of John & Daniela H. Wiley, b. Sept. 22, 1846, d. Aug. 15, 1847.

Williams, Wm. F., b. June 10, 1828, d. Oct. 29, 1900. (Father.)

Harriet, wife of Wm. F. Williams, b. at Haverhill, Mass. Mar. 28, 1828, d. Jan. 2, 1885.

Dannie H., dau. of W. F. & H. Williams, b. July 9, 1856, d. Apr. 28, 1878.

Willis, Tryphrena, b. June 16, 1836, d. May 2, 1891.

Wheaton, Julia S., wife of Geo. W. Wheaton, b. Aug. 30, 1852, d. July 22, 1886.

Joseph C., M.D., b. Oct. 25, 1849, d. Oct. 13, 1897.

Lewis, b. Dec. 22, 1819, d. Dec. 3, 1902.

Anna Frances, wife of Lewis Wheaton, b. May 8, 1826, d. Apr. 18, 1896.

Daniel W., son of Lewis and Anna Wheaton, d. Feb. 5, 1886, aged 22 yrs. 5 ms. 4 ds.

Mary S., dau. of E. C. & R. Wheaton, b. Oct. 19, 1886, d. Jan. 10, 1889. A Babe.

Whilldin, Alma, dau. of T. & L. Whilldin, b. Apr. 15, 1884, d. Jan. 4, 1900.

Theodore, son of T. & L. Whilldin, b. Nov. 4, 1879, d. July 21, 1880.

Julia, A. wife of Somers H. Whilldin, & dau. of Seth W. & Mary Smith, d. Aug. 2, 1876, aged 23 yrs. 5 ms. 16 ds.

Eva L., dau. of Somers H. & Julia A. Whilldin, d. Nov. 30, 1879, aged 8 yrs. 11ms. 28 ds.

Woodlin, Mabel, b. July 9, 1889, d. Aug. 26, 1899.

Worth, Elias S., d. July 12, 1868, aged 49 yrs. 8 ms. 18 ds. (Wife and children mentioned in epitaph.)

Hetty, wife of Elias S. Worth & dau. of Nathaniel & Rachel Hand, b. Apr. 16, 1818, d. Oct. 4, 1856, in her 39th yr.

Emily H., wife of Elias S. Worth, d. Jan. 3, 1895, aged 65 yrs. 9 ms. 28 ds.

Thomas H., son of Elias S. & Emily H. Worth, b. Jan. 4, 1863, d. Dec. 30, 1878. Infant son of Elias & Emily Worth.

Wright, Frederick A., Late of 2nd N. Y. Vols. aged 60 yrs.

Young, Alexander, b. Mar. 27, 1828, d. May 7, 1887.

Phebe, wife of Henry Young Esq., d. Aug. 23, 1766, in her 57th yr.

ORDERLY BOOK OF THE SECOND PENNSYLVANIA CONTINENTAL LINE COL. HENRY BICKER.

At Valley Forge, March 29,—May 27, 1778.

EDITED BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

(Continued from p. 59.)

CAMP NEAR VALLEY FORGE MAY ye 7th 1778.

Regimental Orders.

The Col. once more Requests the Commanding Officers of Companies to make out an exact return of the Clothing delivered to their men, since the first of January last. Thomas Gilbey Corp[l] in Capt. Patterson's company is for his bad conduct reduced to the ranks and is to be treated accordingly.

HENRY BICKER, COL.

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE MAY 7, 1778.
Brigadier for tomorrow . . Muhlenburg
Field Officers, Lt. Col. Farmer and Major——
Brigade Major . . . . . Tynack
Inspector from Gen[l] Muhlenburg's Brigade.

Officers for detachment: Brigadier Gen[l] Maxwell; Field Officers Col. Broadhead; Col. Brewer; Lt. Col. Haskill; Lt. Col. Shearman; Major Hopkins; Major Porter; to parade at 4 o'clock this afternoon precisely, for a weeks Comm[d], two light field pieces are to be attached to this Commd. Col. Van Schaick is to relieve the picquit, at Cuckholdtown until further orders. William Barber is appointed Aid De Camp to Major Genl. Lord Stirling, *vice* Major M[c]Williams resigned, and is to be respected accordingly. The Honorable Congress have been pleased by their Resolution of the 3[d] February last, to require all officers as well civil as military holding commiss. under

them to take and subscribe to the following Oath or affirmation, according to the circumstances of their parties.

I Do acknowledge the United States of America to be free Independent and Sovereign States, and Declare, that the people thereof owe no aligence or obedience to George the 3d King of Great Britain, and I Renounce, Refuse, and Abjure, any aligence or obedience to him and I Do Swear or Affirm that I will to the utmost of my power support, maintain and Defend, the said United States against the said George ye 3rd his Heirs and Successers & his, and their abettors, assistants, and adhearents and will serve the said United States in the Office of . . . . . which I now hold, with Fidelity and according to the best of my skill and understanding.

The form of attestation sworn before me at . . . . . this Day . . . . . of . . . . . .

In order to accomplish this very interesting & essential work, as early as possible, the following officers are to Administer the Oath, and grant Certificates to the Officers of the Divisions, Brigades or Corps set against their names including the Staff. Major-Genl. Lord Stirling, to the officers of late Conway's Brigade; Major Genl Marquis, De la Fiette to that of Woodford's and Scott's Brigades; Major Genl Baron de Kalb, to those of Glover's & Learned's Brigades; Genl McIntosh to those of his own Brigade, Genl Knox to those of the Artilery in Camp; and Officers of Military stores; Genl. Poor to those of his own Brigade; Brigadier Genl Varnom to those of his own Brigade and that of Huntingtons; Brigadier Genl Patterson to those of his own Brigade; Brigadier Genl Wayne to those of 1st and 2d Penna. Brigades; Brigadier Genl Muhlenburg to those of his own and Weeden's Brigades; Brigadier Genl McIntosh to North Carolina Brigade.

Printed copies of the Oath will be lodged in the hands of the Major, and Brigadier Genls to facilitate the business, the Genls administering the Oath are to keep a Duplicate

of the same and grant Certificates when it was made; in the beginning of the Oath the Name, Rank and Corps, of the party making said Oath are to be incerted, the Duplicate & Certificate are to be returned to Head-Quarters by the Gen[l]. Those respecting the Affairs of each Reg[t] by themselves, that an arrangement of the whole may be made out, with greater ease and accuracy. Major Gen[l] Greene is to administer the same oath and grant the like Certificates to the officers in his Department; the Commissioners of Provisions both Issuing and Purchasing, and to the Commissary of Forrage and his Deputies; Besides which he is to administer to the said Officers the following Oath and to grant Duplicates and Certificates.

I Do sware (or affirm) that I will faithfully truly and impartially execute the Office of . . . . . to which I was appointed and render a true accompt when thereunto required of all publick money by me rec[d] or expended and of all Stores, and other Effects to me intrusted, which belong to the United States. And will in all respects discharge the trust reposed in me with Justice, and Integrity according to the best of my skill and understanding.

The Comm[dr]-in-Chief in season of Gen[l] Joy takes occation to proclame pardon and relasement to all prisoners now in confinement wether in the Provost, or any other place, this he is induced to do, that the influence of prosperity may be as extensive as possible, even those that merit punishment rather than favour should be excluded y[e] benefit of an event so interesting to mankind in that which has lately happened to the affiairs of America, he hopes the indulgence will not be abused, but excite gratitude in and produce a change of conduct and an abhorrence of every practice inconsistent with the Duty they owe to their Country——

The Commander-in-Chief takes particular pleasure in acquainting the Army that their conduct yesterday afforded him particular satisfaction; the exactness and

order with which their movement was performed, is a pleasing evidence of the progress they are making in the Military improvement, an earnest of the perfection to which they will shortly arrive; With the continuence of that laudible Zeal and emulation which so happily preveals. The Gen[l] at the same time presents his thanks to the Baron Steuben and the Gentlemen acting under him for the indefatiguable exertion in the Duties of their Offices—the good effects of which are so already apparent, and for the activity and prosperity in conducting their business of yesterday.

B: O: May 7[th], 1778.

The Col. Commandant requests the Officers Commanding Regts to pay the strictest attention to the men's Arms and minutely inspect wether they have their full compliment of Ammunition, if not; to make a return of the deficiency without delay to the Brigade Qr. Master, who is to draw it immediately and keep a sufficient quantity in his hands in case of any emmergancy.

JAMES CHAMBERS.

Adj[t] of the Day from the 10[th] Reg[t].

	C:	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*		*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P.*
1[st] Reg[t]	0	0	2	1	15	*B. F:*	0	0	0	20
2[nd] do	0	0	1	1	6		0	0	1	8
7[th] do	0	1	1	1	10		0	1	0	11
10[th] do			1	1	10		0	0	1	10
	0:	1:	5:	4:	41		0:	1:	2:	49

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE May 8[th] 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . . Patterson,
Field Officers . Lt. Col. Sims, Major Palin,
Brigade Major . . . . . Mervin,
Inspector from Gen[l] Maxwell's Brigade.

	C:	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*		*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P.*
			B: O: Guard							
1st Regt			1	1	15		1	1	0	19
2nd do			1	1	6	*R. F.*		1		8
7th do			1	1	10					11
10th do			2	1	10					10
			5:	4:	41		1:	2:	0:	48

Head Quarters, May 9th, 1778 Valley Forge.
Brigadier tomorrow . . . . . Wayne
Field Officers . . . Col. Silley Lieut. Con[l] Gray.
Brigade Inspector from late Conway's Brigade.
Brigade Major . . . . . Jackson.

The Hour appointed for the late exercise of the Troops having been changed, make it necessary to change the hours for the Drummer's to practice which will for the future be from five to six in the morning & from four to five in the afternoon; any Drummer that shall be found practicing any other time than above mentioned, shall be severely punished.

The Adj[ts] of the several Regt[s] are to pay particular attention to this order as they will be answerable for the execution of it. Drums is of no use but for signals to the Army & if every Drummer is allowed to beat at his pleasure the intention is entirely distroyed as it will be impossible to distinguish whether they are beating for their own pleasure or a Signal to the Troops.

Congress has been plased to appoint Baron Steuben, Inspector General, with the rank of Maj[r] Gen[l], & the Comm[r]-in-Chief invested with power to appoint the Inspectors & Brigade Inspectors he continues in office them who are nominated & appointed.

The languid progress of the esential works of defence which has been placed by the Engineers, gives the Com-

md^{r}-in-Chief the greatest concern, he calls upon those officers who superintend them, to use their utmost exertion to have them compleated with out the loss of time.

At a Gen^{l} Court Martial whereof Co^{l} Febiger was president May 5th, 1778, Rob^{t} Anderson late Waggon Master in the Marquis's Division tryed for selling a Rifle mark^{d} U. S. found Guilty & sentenced to redeem the Rifle & return it to the first Penn^{a} Reg^{t} to which the person who lately had it in possession belongs: approved of and ordered to take place.

At the same Court Lieu^{t} M^{c}Donald of the 3^{d} Penn^{a} Reg^{t} tryed for absenting himself from the Reg^{t} without the consent of the Comm^{d} Officer of the Reg^{t}, upon due consideration of the charge & evidence, the Court are of opinion the charge and evidence & Justification is sufficent & do aquit him of the charge against him. The Comm^{dr}-in-Chief confirms the opinion of the Court & orders Lieu^{t} McDonald to be released from arrest.

B: G: Orders.

Adju^{t} for the Day tomorrow from the 1st Reg^{t}.

B: O: Guard—

	C: S:	*C: P:*	*Fatigue*	*Sub: S:*	*P:*
2nd Reg^{t}	1	1 6		1	1 8

For fatigue, Lieu^{t} Purcell.

Head Quarters Valley Forge May 10th, 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . . . Poor

Field Officers . L^{t} Co^{l} Starr Major Nicoles.

Brigade Major . . . . . Minnes

Inspector from Gen^{l} Huntington's Brigade.

B:—O:—

Adj^{t} of the Day from the 7th Reg^{t}. The Brigade Guard to be reduced to a Serg^{t} Corp and 9 Privates; each Regt. to mount a Guard, and place a centinal to keep the men from casting filth into the ditch in front of the Brigade.

Detail.

	Sub:	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*	*Fitague*	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P.*
2nd Regt	1	1	1	6		0	0	0	9
do do	1 man for weeks commd 2d D: P:								
do do	One Sergt 1 Corpl 2 men Commd								

Regimental Orders, May 10th, 1778.

For a weeks Commd tomorrow Capt Ashmead.

Head Quarters Valley Forge May 11th 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . . . McIntosh,
Field Officers . . . Col Parker, Lt Col Neval.
Brigade Major . . . . . Clayburn.
Inspector from Genl Varnoms Brigade.

A Court of Inquiry to sit tomorrow at Genl Varnom's Hut at 9 o'Clock to take into consideration a complaint exhibited by Col Green against Col Stewart; Brigadier Genl Varnom is appointed president, Col Grayson and Bigalow, Lt Col Wisenfelt & Breerly, and Major Ward will attend as members. The Genl Officers are required to attend at Head Quarters tomorrow 11 o'clock a. m., that they may take the Oath appointed by Congress in their resolution of the 3rd of Febry last, published in the Genl Orders of the 7th inst.

At a Genl Court Martial whereof Col Febiger was president, April 28th, 1778, Capt. Thos. Lucas, Col. Malcum's Regt tryed for assuming the rank of a Capt, when a Lieut; 2d for discharging an enlisted soldier, and also for receiving a sum of money for so doing, and 3dly for returning the said soldier Deserted in the Muster Rolls after discharging him, found Guilty of the charges exhibited against him, being breeches of the 5th Article of the 18th Sect., and the 2d Article of the 3d Sect, also of the 5th Article of the 5th Sect. of the Articles of War, and sentenced to be discharged the service; also Lieut. Barron of Col Wigglesworth's Regt tryed for sticking Lt Page and 2dly for ungentelman like behaviour found Guilty

of the charges exhibited against him and sentenced to be Cashiered and reduced—Incapable of ever serving in the United States in any Military capacity. The Comm^{dr}-in-Chief approves the forgoing sentences and orders them to take place immediately.

At the same Court Cap^{t} Morrison of the 1st Jersey Battalion tryed for selling as substutes men, who by an express law of the State were deemed incapable of being such and for selling soldiers as substitutes who were before enlisted for the common bounty. Upon consideration of the Charge and evidence, the Court are unanimously of opinion that Cap^{t} Morrison is guilty of the charges exhibited against him, but as he does not appear to have been actuated by self-interested motives as his actions which are most censured, have arose from a desire of promoting the good of the service, the Court determined that he does not merit censure. The Gen^{l} confirms the sentence, at the same time he cannot forbear making the practice of selling soldiers as substitutes as an abuse of the highest Nature and pregnant with the most pernicious consequences, which there is every reason to hope in the present instance; that it did not proceed from selfish pecuniry motives, yet it is in itself of so dangerous a tendency and so inconsistent with every rule of propriety, that it cannot but merit the severest Reprehentions; Cap^{t} Morrison is released from his arrest. By the same Court by Adjournment April y^{e} 29th 1778 Adj^{t} Thompson of the 9th Reg^{t} Penna. tryed for refusing to come when sent for by Major Nicholas, and secondly for treating Major Nicholas with ill language after coming to him, accquitted of the first charge, but found Guilty of the 2^{d}, and sentenced to be privately reprimanded by the Officer Comm^{dg} y^{e} Brigade;—the Gen^{l} remits the sentence for a consideration that the conduct observed toward M^{r} Thompson must have exceedingly wounded his feelings and excited him to the warmth of expression for which he was censured. Adj^{nt} Thompson is released from his arrest.

B: O:—

Adjn[t] of the Day tomorrow from the 10[th] Reg[t]

	Guard				*Detail*							
	C:	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*
1[st] Reg[t]			1	1	16	*W:C:*		2	*R:F:*	1	1	0 19
2[nd] do			1	1	6		1	1		1	0	9
7[th] do			1	1	8			2				11
10[th] do		1	1	1	6		1	0 1				9

Head Quarters Valley Forge May y[e] 12[th], 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . . Mulinberg.
Field Officers . . L[t] Co[l] Badlam, Major Murphy.
Brigade Major . . . . . McCormick.
Inspector from Gen[l] McIntoshes Brigade.

The Gen[l] Court Martial Whereof Co[l] Febiger is president is dissolved; and another ordered to sit tomorrow at the usual place, whereof Col Boman is appointed president. A Cap[t] from each Brigade to attend as members.

Haskill Esq[r] is appointed Brigade Major in Gen[l] Pattersons Brigade *vice* Brigade Major M[c]Clure.

B: O:

Adju[t] of the Day tomorrow from the 2[d] Reg[t].

A Cap[t] from the 10[th] Reg[t] to attend the Court Martial at the usual place.

Division Orders, May 12[th] 1778.

The Brigade Qr. Masters are immediately to make out returns of Accoutrements wanting to complete the several Reg[ts] in which they will enclude 200 Bayonet Belts for the 200 Muskets drawn yesterday; they will also make a return of the number of Rifles in each Brigade, in order to Exchange them for an equal number of Muskets and Bayonets; they must note that equal number of Cartridge boxes and Bayonet Belts will be wanted as there may be Rifles exchanged. The Gen[l] observes that the soldiers

clothing for want of a little attention is getting very much out of order; he therefore wishes every Commanding Officer of Reg[ts] and Corps to cause the Taylors to repair the Coats or Uniforms of the soldiers immediately and by all means prevent them from carrying provisions or water on their heads or shoulders, as nothing tends to distroy or dirty their hatts and uniform equal to this unsoldierly practice. Officers will punish every soldier that may be Guilty of it in future.—

ANTHONY WAYNE

B: G:

	Guards.					*Detail.*							
	C:	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*	*C:*	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*		*Sub:*	*S:*	*P:*
1[st] Reg[t]	0	0	1	1	17	0	0	1	0	3		0	0	19
2[nd] do	0	1	1	1	6	*W:C*[md] 0	0	0	0	2	*R:F:*	0	0	8
7[th] do			1	1	8	1	0	0		2		1	1	11
10[th] do			1	1	6	0	0	0		1		0	1	10
	1:		4:	4:	37	1:	0:	1:	0:	8		1:	2:	48

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE May y[e] 13, 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . . Patterson
Field Officers . . . Co[l] Gibson & L[t] Col Ball
Brigade Major . . . . . McKinney.
Inspector from Gen[l] Woodford's Brigade.

Advertisement etc.

B: O:

Adju[t] of the Day tomorrow from the 1[st] Reg[t]

	Guards.					*Detail.*							
	C:	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*		*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*
1[st] Reg[t]	0	0	1	1	15	*two W.C*[d] 1	0	0	1		0	0	0	19
2[nd] do	0	0	1	1	6	0	0	0	1	*R:F:*	1	1	0	8
7[th] do	0	0	1	1	7	0	0	0	1		0	1	0	11
10[th] do	0	0	1	1	7				1		0	0	0	10

Head Quarters Valley Forge May 14th 1778.
Brigadier for tomorrow . . . . . Wayne,
Field Officers . Col Sheppard & Lt Col Charlton,
Brigade Major . . . . . Bannister,
Inspector from the 1st Penna. Brigade.

The Troops are in future to be exempted from exercise every Friday afternoon, which time is allowed them for washing their linnen & Beathing. The [?] who conduct the soldiers to Beathe are to be particularly careful that no man remains longer then ten minutes in the water—The Commanding officers of Regts are to order two windows at least in each Hutt—As the second North Carolina, Livingston's & Angles Regt is sickly, the Commanding Officers of these Regts will apply for tents, to remove their men from their Hutts——

At a Brigade Court Martial in the Artilery, May ye 9th, 1778, Col Procter President; Capt Francis Procter sen tryed for scandelous and infamous behaviour unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman; also for breaking his arrest & threatening Capt Rice's life in an ungentleman like manner in different companies: Acquitted of ye charge of breaking his arrest, but found guilty of scandelous behavior unbecomming the character of a gentleman and an officer, being a breach of the Article Sect. 14th of the Articles of War and sentenced to be Discharged the Service; the Commdr-in-Chief approves of the sentence and orders it to take place immediately.

At a General Court Martial whereof Col Febiger was president, Lieut. Carter of Col Baylors Regt of Light Dragoons, tryed for Neglect of Duty & leaving the different Roads unguarded from Barren Hill Church to Phila da, by which the enemy advanced a body of Horse and foot to said Church and surprised and made prisoners a Subaltern & his party who had return'd to the Church for refreshment; after due deliberation, the court are unanimously of opinion that Lieut Carter is Guilty of the charge

exhibited against him, being a breach of the 5th Article 18th Sect of the Articles of War, but are of opinion that he must not have understood the orders given by Capt McClain, which considerably aleviates his duty and sentence him to be Reprimanded in Genl Orders. The Commdr-in-Chief approves of his sentence and orders Lieut Carter to be discharged from his arrest, and desires him to report to his Regt. He hopes that he in future will pay a very strict attention to the orders of his Commanding Officer as he plainly preceive the ill effects that have arisen from Ill apprehension.

B: O:

Adjut of the Day tomorrow from the 7th Regt.

	Guards.				*Detail.*			
	C:	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:* *P:*		*Sub:*	*S:*	*P:*
1st Regt								
2nd do			1:	1: 7	*R:F:*	0	1	8
7th do								
10th do								

Brigade Orders May the 15th, 1778.

Information being made to me that the provisions now in the possession of the Brigade Commissery is unwholesome and not fit for use, the Brigade Major is therefore immediately to appoint one officer from each Regt in the Brigade to take a survey of the provisions and make report to the Commandant accordingly.

James Chambers, Col Comdt.

Head Quarters Valley Forge May 15, 1778.
Brigadier for tomorrow . . . . . Poor,
Field Officers . Col Butler, & Lt Col Derborn,
Brigade Major . . . . . Haskill,
Inspector from the 2nd Penna. Brigade.

Genl McIntosh being appointed to a separate command and requiring a little time to prepare for it, Col Clark is

to take the immediate command of the North Carolina Brigade & discharge the several duties of Co[l] Commanden[t] till further orders, except administering the Oaths to officers, agreeable to former orders, which Gen[l] M[c]Intosh is to continue to do while he continues in camp. James M[c]Henry Esq. is appointed an assistant Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief and is to be respected and obeyed as such. The Court of Inquiry whereof Gen. Varnom was president, Report that altho' the inconveniences suffered in Col. Green's Reg[t] would, naturally prompt to request an enquiry yet Col. Stewart has acquitted himself with propriety, being no way contributary thereto. A proportion of paper will be delivered to the several brigades tomorrow. No sutlers or soldiers are to give or sell, any rum or liqures to the Indians on any pretence what ever; A breech of this order will be severely noticed.

B: O:

Adju[t] of the Day tomorrow from the 10[th] Reg[t]

	Guards.					*Detail.*			
	Capt:	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*		*Sub:*	*S:*	*P:*
1[st] Reg[t]			1	1	16			1	19
2[nd] do		1	1	1	7	*B:F:*			8
7[th] do			1	1	9		1	1	11
10[th] do			2	1	8				10
		1.	5.	4.	40.		1.	2.	48.

Division Orders May y[e] 16[th] 1778.

The whole division to be under arms at 4 o'Clock tomorrow in the afternoon, when the officers will cause all the old guards, and the Qr and Brigade Guards in Camp, their centries only except[d] to parade in the neatest and most soldierly manner possible; each Brigade to be divided into two Battalions with a pair of colors in the centre of each. The officers will be particularly careful

that every Hutt be searched and all the soldiers turned out; if any soldier in future attempts to screen himself from parade, he is to be immediately and severely punished, for the inattention of a few are aught not to be permitted to throw a disgrace upon a whole Corps which will ever be the case, unless both officers and men punctually attend the parade and make themselves perfect in each Manœuvere; Baron Steuben proposes to introduce some new and useful [?] on that day. The Gen[l] has observed a less number of bayonets than usual at the parade; he therefore wishes the officers to direct an immediate search for all such as may be in Camp, and cause the soldiers to clean and wear them, punishing all those who neglect or loose them in the most exemplary manner. The Gen[l] wishes the officers to cause their men to cut their hair thinner and shorter this afternoon, and as uniform as possible.

By order of Gen[l] Wayne.

Benjamin Fishburn Aid de Camp.

Head Quarters Valley Forge May y[e] 16[th], 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . . . Varnom.

Field Officers . . Col Bicker, Major Shepherd

Brigade Major . . . . . Seely

Inspector from Gen[l] Poor's Brigade.

A most pernicious practice has in too many instances prevailed, of Officers leaving Camp either upon furlough, or what is still worse, to quit the service, taking with them soldiers in the capacity of servants; this abuse so detrimental to the Army and injurious to the Public is positively forbidden in future, and the Commanding Officer of Reg[ts] are enjoined to prevent its being practiced in any pretence whatever; this to be cónsidered as a standing invariable order. It's not improbable that the Army may

find it necessary to make a sudden and rapid movement, the Commander-in-Chief reminds the officers of the order of the 27th of last March, respecting baggage etc. if there should be any who may have been inattentive to it, they must abide by the consequences. As it is determined that no hindrance to the motions of the Army will be suffered to happen, on any account of our cumberance which ought to have been Removed.

As the hot season advances, the time exercise will be an hour sooner than has been heretofore; the whole Army will be under Arms at 5 o'Clock in the morning precisely; the Inspectors and Brigade Majors, will regulate their watches agreeable to the clock at Head Qrs. Honours due from Guards to the Genl and other officers of the army to be observed in future 1st. The Guards commanded by Commissioned Officers are for the future, to the Commander-in-Chief to parade, and present arms, the officers saluting and Drum beating. But as in Camp before the enemy, it will not always be proper to announce the presence of the Commander-in-Chief, his Excellency therefore orders, that the Drums will not beat; secondly for Major Genls, and Genls and field officers of the Day; the Guards present Arms; 3dly for Brigadier Genls they parade with handled Arms; 4thly for the Adjt Genl., and Inspectors of Divisions the same; also from the Quater Guards to their own Brigade Inspectors; 5th Guards Commd by non-commis'd offices present arms to the Commdr-in-Chief, Major Genls, Brigadier Genls, Field officers of the Day, Adjt Genls, Inspectors of Divisions, Field Officers by their own Regt and Inspector of their own Brigades, Centinals to present arms for all Genl Officers, Field Officers of the Day, Adjt Genl and Inspectors of Divisions, and the Centinals in Camp with present Arms, likewise to the Field Officers of their own Regt. The Guard of the Commdr-in-Chief pay no Honours but to him, the Guards of Major Genls pay no Honours but to the Commdr-in-Chief and the Genls to whom they are

on Guard; the Guards of Brigadier Genls. pay Honours but to the Comm^{dr}-in-Chief, its Major Gen^{l} and Brigadiers to whom they are on guard———when a Guard parades they must be formed in two ranks agreeable to the instructions already given for the formation of Troops, the officers to the right of the front rank; the Serg^{t} covering him in the same manner as formed for the charge; the Drums to the right of the Officers, the Centinal to the right of the Drum, a little advanced; there must be no single man, the centinal must give the time; the officer facing to the left gives the word present arms and with the last motion faces again to the right. Facing again to the left to Comm^{d} shoulder etc keeping always to the right of his Gr. as occation may require. N:B: This last article respects only the Guards in Camp, in time of war, in Garrison or in time of peace the Guards parade in open ranks and the Officers parade 4 paces before the centre.

When it happens that a Gen^{l} or Field officer of the Day passes a guard during the time they are relieving, both Guards pay the Honours before mentioned, without altering their position; tho the Gen^{ls} should pass behind either of the Guards.

When a Battalion or a detachment passes before a guard, they must present Arms and beat a March, and if the Battalion or Detachment, has colors the Officer salute them. When a body of men without arms, even if their Countrymen, if their numbers are equal or stronger than the Guard, the centinal should allarm the Guard, and the Guard turn out until they are past; when a Guard is marching to its post or in returning meets a Gen^{l} or Field Officer they should carry arms and continue their march; when a single soldier with arms meets any officers he should front, and carry arms, till the officer has past. When two Guards or Detachments meets they should both carry arms, and encline to the right to make room for each other to pass.

Brigade Orders May 16th, 1778.

The Brigade Quarter Masters to provide straw for the men who have no blankets. The sick of the several Regiments to be first supplied.

William Irvine, Co[l] Comm[dg] y[e] 1[st] Penna.

B: O:

Adju[t] for the Day from the 2[nd] Reg[t].

	Guards.			*Detail.*
	C: Sub:	*S: C:*	*P:*	
1[st] Reg[t]		2 1	16	
2[nd] do	1	1 1	7	
7[th] do		1 1	9	
10[th] do		1 1	8	
	1:	5: 4:	40	

Head Quarters Valley Forge May y[e] 17[th], 1778.

Brigadier . . . . . Mulenberg
Field Officers . . L[t] Co[l] Hainey Major Dickingson
Brigade Major . . . . . Martial
Inspector from Gen[l] Glover's Brigade.

The Comm[dg] Officers of Reg[ts] and Corps are to make an exact return tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock, at Head Quaters of the Arms deficient in their respective Corps.

The Commissary of Military stores is also to Make a return the 21[st] inst[t] of all the Arms rec[d] from and delivered to the Army from the first of November last, specifying the particular Corps and the number rec[d] from and delivered to each. The Comm[dg] Officers of Reg[ts] and Corps are especially directed to call in by the first of June all soldiers belonging to their respective Corps who are now distributed in the several Departments of the Staff in the quality of servants and to prevent any others being made use of in the same manner.

Officers for Detachment tomorrow L[t] Co[l] Miller, L[t] Co[l] Hubley.

B: O:

Adj[t] of the Day tomorrow from the first Reg[t].

Detail.

	C.	*Sub.*	*S.*	*C.*	*P.*	*C.*	*Sub.*	*S.*	*C.*	*P.*
1st Regt	0	0	1	2	16	1	1	2	0	44
2nd do	0	0	1	1	7	1	1	1	1	18
7th do		1	2	1	0		1	0	1	26
10th do			2	1	8		1	0	1	18
	1.	6.	5.		41.	2.	4.	3.	3.	106

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

Captain Joseph Halberts company of volunteer infantry (1 Captain, 2 subalterns and 80 men), were on October 2, 1814, encamped at Bush Hill, Philadelphia.

Transcripts from the Family Bible of James Bond.

William & Elizabeth Bond, Married March 17th Anno Domini 1730.
Ruth Bond Daughter of William & Elizabeth Bond, was Born Febʸ 7th Anno Domini 1731.
Luke Stansbury Bond Son of William & Elizabeth Bond, Born April 15th Anno Domini 1733.
Priscilla Bond Daughter of William & Elizabeth Bond Born July 2d 1735.
Tobias Bond, Son of William & Elizabeth Bond, Born Octr 5th 1744.
Cassandria Bond, Daughter of William & Elizabeth Bond November 7th 1749.
James Bond, Son of William & Elizabeth Bond Born March 7th 1755.
Elizabeth Worthington Daughter of Vashel & Priscilla Worthington Born November 25th 1759.
Margaret Worthington Daughter of Vashel & Priscilla Worthington Born July 24th 1762.
Priscilla Bond Worthington Daughter of Charles & Elizabeth Worthington Born Novemr 7th 1774.
William Bond Husband of Elizabeth Bond, departed this Life February 25th 1769 Aged 63 years.
Elizabeth Bond wife of the above William departed this Life Janʸ 31, 1787. Aged 73 years.
Luke & Frances Bond was married July 18th 1762.
Tobias Bond Son of Luke & Frances Bond, born July 22d 1763.
John Bond, Son of Luke & Frances Bond, born Decr 6, 1764.
Elizabeth Bond, Daughter of Luke & Frances Bond, born April 8th 1766.
William Bond, Son of Luke & Frances Bond born March 10, 1 [torn] 8.
Frances Bond wife of Luke Bond Departed this Life, Octr 24. 1768.
Luke Bond, Departed this life April 20th 1772.
William Leech Bond (Son of James & Sarah Bond) was Born November 11th 1774.
James Bond & Martha Wilmer was Married Decr 8th 1782.
Anna Maria Bond (Daughter of James & Martha Bond) was born Decr 10th 1783.
Rosaannah Elizabeth Bond (Daughter of James & Martha Bond) was born Decr 3d 1785.
Rosaannah Elizabeth Bond (Daughter of James & Martha Bond) Departed this Life Febr 8. 1788.
Rebecca Bond (Daughter of James & Martha Bond) was born March the 18th 1791.
Rebecca Bond (Daughter of James & Martha Bond) Departed this Life Octr 12th day, thirty five Minets past three in the Morning 1792.
William Wilmer Bond (Son of Jas & Martha Bond) was born Janry 15th at nine o'clock in the morning 1793.
Lambert Wilmer Bond (Son of Jas & Martha Bond) was born Augt 29th at Nine o'Clock in the Morning 1795.
Harriet Elizabeth Bond Daughter of James & Martha Bond Born the 3d day of Septr 1797. at five o'Clock in the Morning.

James Bond Son of William & Elizabeth Bond, Departed this Life Decr 19th 1808 aged 53 years 9 months and 19 Days
A. Maria Bond was Married to John Hatton on Sunday the 18th of Janry 1807.
Caroline Martha Hatton Daughter of Maria & John Hatton, was born the 4th day of Novr at a quarter past five o'Clock in the Evening 1807.
Mary ann hatton, Daughter of Maria & John hatton was born September 14th 1809.
Mary ann hatton Daughter of Maria & John hatton, Dyed August 11th 1811 aged 22 Months and 27 days.
Elizabeth Hatton Daughter of Maria & John Hatton was Born April 1st 1812.
Martha Bond wife of James Bond Dyed March 25th in the Year of our Lord and Savour Jesus Christ 1812. Aged 51 years and 8 Months.

Steam Navigation on the Mississippi, 1790.—In 1790, the firm of Reed & Forde, of Philadelphia, were interested in an "Adventure to the Mississippi." The following item, taken from the "Memorandum Book" of the member of the firm who accompanied the "Adventure," relates to steam navigation on the Mississippi River.

"On arrival at New Orleans to apply to his Excellency Governor Meis and know the best terms that can be obtained for a person that undertakes to build and work a steam boat on the Mississippi. There should be if possible an advance of money or at any rate an exclusive right to work said Boats for at least seven years, with any other advantages in Trade that can be granted.

"If the current of the Mississippi is not stronger than the tide of the Delaware, the boat will go at from 3 to 4 miles an hour."—

"King Cotton."—The following drinking song, anacreontic, was written by the late George P. Morris, then of Undercliff, on the Hudson, in the late afternoon of June 13, 1859, on board the steamboat "Thomas Powell," Capt. Anderson, on her trip from New York to Poughkeepsie. The following members of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania were at the time en route to visit the late Benson J. Lossing: John Jordan Jr. and wife, Townsend Ward, John A. McAllister, and Prof. William C. Reichel. Mr. Lossing was also on board.

I.

Old Cotton is King, boys, aha!
With his locks so massive and white!
He shines among Kings like a star!
And his is the scepter of right,
Boys, of right
And his is the scepter of right!

II.

Old Cotton, the King, has no care,
No queen and no heir to his throne,
No courtiers his triumphs to share,
He rules his dominions alone,
Boys, alone!
He rules his dominions alone.

III.

Old Cotton, the merry old boy!
Like smoke from the pipe in his mouth
His years glide away in their joy,
At home in the warm sunny South,
Boys, in the South!
At home in the warm sunny South!

IV.

Then here's to old Cotton, the King!
His true loyal subjects are we!
We'll laugh and we'll quaff, and we'll sing
A jolly old fellow is he
Boys is he,
A jolly old fellow is he!

J. W. J.

Bucks County [Loyalist] Dragoons.—Among the Muster Rolls of Loyalist troops recruited in Pennsylvania, (Penna. Mag. Vol. xxxv), is that of the Bucks County Dragoons, Capt. Watson. In the following interesting letter, Dr. Godfrey has been able to identify the commander of this troop, as not being a member of the Bucks county family of that name.

"Dear Doctor Jordan:

"My suspicions as to the identity of Lieut. Col. Watson, who commanded the Bucks County Dragoons, has been confirmed by the discovery of an unlisted Orderly Book of the 'Brigade of Guards' in the Congressional Library, which shows him to be Captain and Lieutenant Colonel John Watson Tadwell Watson of the Third Regiment of Foot Guards.

"The British Army Lists nor Ford's compilation of British officers, do not show that any of the Foot Guards were in this country during the Revolutionary War, while Rivington's Army List shows that they were in 1778, as does Kemble's Orderly Book. The fact is a Provisional Brigade, consisting of two battalions, were made up from the three regiments of Foot Guards and were in this country during most, if not the entire war.

"However, the Orderly Book referred to recites in part:

'June 6, 1778—Captain Sandford's Provincial Troop is to be Attached to the Light Infantry Company of the Brigade of Guards.'

'July 28, 1778—Capt. Watson will, until further orders, take Charge of the Provincial L^t Cavalry attach'd to the L^t Infantry of the Brigade of Guards.'

'Aug. 1, 1778—Hoovenden's, James and Kinlock's Troops are to compose part of the British Legion.'

"This John W. T. Watson was commissioned Lieutenant and Captain of the Third Regiment of Foot Guards, 28 April, 1773, and promoted Captain and Lieutenant Colonel 20 November, 1778. He was an Aide-de-Camp to Clinton in 1781, and was also detailed to command the Provincial Light Infantry in the Southern Campaign.

"The Orderly Book of the Brigade of Guards covers the period from January 30 to August 9, 1778, and all the orders contained in Kemble's, especially some of the missing sections of the latter.

"Very truly yours

C. E. Godfrey."

Manufacture of Saltpetre.

Committee Chamber, July 3, 1775.

The Committee of the city and liberties of Philadelphia, having undertaken to erect a SALT-PETRE MANUFACTORY, and having appointed Meffrs. Owen Biddle, George Clymer, John Allen, James Meafe, Lambert Cadwalader and Doctor Benjamin Rufh, to fuperintend the fame; they do earneftly requeft the inhabitants of this Province in general, and of this this city and liberties in particular, to furnifh them with all fuch materials and affiftance, as they may require, to enable them to carry the faid important and neceffary Manufactory into execution, with as much expedition as poffible.

By order of the Committee,
JOHN BENEZET, *affiftant Sec.*

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THE SCOTCH SETTLERS IN RAPHOE, COUNTY DONEGAL, IRELAND.

A CONTRIBUTION TO PENNSYLVANIA GENEALOGY.

BY WILLIAM M. MERVINE.

The names of persons and places to be found in the records of the county of Donegal are most significant to those interested in Pennsylvania history and genealogy, as many of the Scotch-Irish settlers in this state were from that portion of the province of Ulster.

Until the beginning of the seventeenth century, the vast region now embraced by county Donegal was known as Tyrconnell, and in very early Irish history, as *Cinel-Conail*, or, the country of the descendants of Conall Gulban.[1] At the beginning of the reign of King James I (1603-1625), English authority was scarcely recognized in the north of Ireland. There were no towns of consequence and the people obeyed their native chiefs. After confiscating the Ulster lands, in the counties of Londonderry, Donegal, Tyrone, Cavan, Armagh and Fermanagh, King James set aside the finest portions for British colonists, and assigned the native Irish to the poorer and more remote districts.[2]

[1] Hill, *Ulster Plantation Papers*, 1889, p. 110.

[2] Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish*, Volume I, pp. 498, 499.

OF PHILADELPHIA.

Large grants of these lands were then made to Scotch and English adventurers. "James seems to have seen that the parts of Scotland nearest Ireland, and which had most intercourse with it, were most likely to yield proper colonists," and grants were made to the Duke of Lennox, who had great power in Dumbartonshire; the Earl of Abercorn, who represented the power of the Hamiltons in Renfrewshire; Sir Thomas Boyd of north Ayrshire; the Cunninghams and Crawfords of south Ayr. The greatest number of grants were made to men of Galloway.

Every person receiving two thousand acres of land, agreed to bring forty-eight men, of English or Scotch birth; who should receive leases for portions of the land and be supplied with muskets and hand weapons.[3] The settlers began to arrive in Ireland in 1610; some were from England; but the majority were Scotch. Among the Scots who received grants for lands in county Donegal in 1610, were: Ludovic Stuart, Duke of Lennox; Sir Walter Stewart, Laird of Minto, Roxburyshire; Alexander McAula of Durlin, Dumbartonshire; John Cunningham of Crafueld in Ayr; William Stewart, Laird of Dunduff, of Maybole in Ayr; James Cunningham, Laird of Glangarnocke in Ayr; Sir Robert Maclellan, Laird of Bomby, Kirkcudbrightshire; George Murray of Wigtonshire; Sir Patrick Mackee of Wigtonshire; James McCullough of Wigton; Alexander Dunbar of Wigton; Patrick Vaus.[4]

The parish of Raphoe in county Donegal is said to have derived its early importance from the foundation of an extensive monastery there, by St. Columb, which after its restoration, prior to 703, continued to flourish, and was made the seat of a bishoprick. George Montgomery, the first Protestant bishop of Raphoe, consecrated to the see in 1605, was very active and successful in increasing

[3] Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish*, Volume I, p. 500.
[4] Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish*, Volume I, pp. 506-509.

the number of Scotch planters there. He was a Scot, from the parish of Beith in Ayrshire, of the distinguished house of Eglinton, younger brother of the first Viscount Montgomery, and had served as Chaplain to King James, and as Dean of Norwich.[5] So eager was he for settlers that he "settled intelligences to be given from all the seaports in Donegal and Fermanagh . . . and he ordered so that the masters of vessels should, after dislodging their cargo, come to his Lordship with a list of their seamen and passengers."[6]

The succeeding bishops of Raphoe were zealous also in securing Scotch tenants for their lands. In a letter to the Lords Justices, April 27, 1631, Bishop Knox wrote: "I was translated to it [Raphoe] in 1610. The rents were then so small (£30 per annum) that as you remember I was given an annuity of £E.100. I then went to Scotland and, with great difficulty persuaded a number of Scotch people to come and colonise my see, . . . the result is that this see is now planted with over 300 families of British Protestant subjects."[7]

A Muster Roll of all the Undertakers, Servitors and Natives, in the county of Donegal, made by George Alleyne in 1618, shows these names in the Barony of Raphoe: Sir Rafe Bingley, Mr. William Wilson, Mr. Robert Davis, Sir John Kinsmell, Sir Thomas Cooch, Captain Mansfield, Mr. Peter Bewson, Sir John Steward, The Lady of Luce, Mr. Alexander Steward, Mr. James Kiningham, and the Lord of Dondoffe.[8]

From *A Muster Rolle of y^e^ Province of Ulster*, made in 1630,[9] the following were copied. The complete roll is virtually a census of the Scotch and English settlers then residing in the counties of Ulster:

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[5] Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, Volume III, p. 315.

[6] Hill, *The Plantation of Ulster*, p. 210.

[7] *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland*, 1625–1632, pp. 660–61.

[8] *Muster Book of Ulster, 1618*, folio 4. *Additional Manuscript No. 18,735.* British Museum.

[9] *Additional Manuscript No. 4770.* British Museum.

"The Muster of the Roll of the County of Donnagall."

Barony de Rapho.

The Lord Duke of Lynox undertaker of 4000 Acres his men & Armes.

With swords only.

Robert Leackye
James Wood
Andrew Wood
Mathew Lyndsey
William Douglas
Robert Lyndsay
Robert Buchanan
John Gallbreath
Alexander Buchanan
Alexander Lawder
James Denniston, elder
William Laughlan
John Lowrye
John Ralston
William Cokeran
Hector Hynman ?
Robert Cocheran
John Buchanan
John McConocky
Robert McPeter
George Huldin
Robert Horner
Donell Caley
Robert Clapp
Archbell Campell
ffyndley mc Kindley
Andrew mc Tyre
Alexander Galbreath
John mcKaine
John Thromble
John Stewars
John Skot
Robert Boyde
Thomas Lowrye
Costyne Ranckein
John Allen
Dunkin Spence
Thomas Ramsey
William Skot
John mcCawley
Andrew Lackye
James Hustone
Robert Lackye
James Dromond
Archbald Cambell
Robert McKyndely

With Sword and Pike.

Morris McConnell
John Snodgrass
Alexander mcLentock
Robert Morrison
Donnell mcNichol
James Richye
John Cocheran
Owen mcNair
Robert Aickeene
James Kilsoe
John Swayne

With Sword & Halbert.

Hugh Greire

With Sword & Callener.

John mcffarlan

No arms.

Morris Peacock
William McNevin
Patrick Porter
James Logan
Mathew Gillrew
Robert Leman
Walter Lowrye
Robert Campbell
John Douglas
Alexand Hamond
William Hewes
Donnell mcCahan

Adam Quohone
John mcffarlan
William Noble
Andrew Galbreath
John Wood
John Brittein
Gawen mcConnell
Walter Henry
George Allyson
John Buchanan
John Pearce
Neece mcGilcrouse
Anthony Steward
John Parmenter
William Wood
Walter Roger
John Young
John Watson
Dunkan Crafford
John Pecock
David Gibb
John Roger

Sir John Conigham knight undertaker of 4000 Acres his Men & Armes

Swords only.

Robert Boyll
John Malfeild
John fforret
Patrick Coningham
William Dunlap
David Coningham
John Blare
Patrick fould
Gawen Michell
John Wood
James Lennox
John Longvill
Robert Young
Robert Wallas
Robert Vernogh
Alexander Lawson

Swords and snaphances.

Thomas Hislat
William Saner
Andrew Balmanner
Robert mcInteer
Herbert Morison
David Ramsay
William mcKase
Patrick McCleland
Alexander Balmanner
Walter de Jestame ?
James mcCreay
James Young

Swords and pikes.

James Patterson
Donnell McKee
James Robinson
Dunkan mckinley
John Cambell
Hugh Thomson
William Calwell
Marcus Odoylson
Dunkan Lyone
John Lyone
John Makee
Hugh Barskenny
Patrick delap
John Gylles
John Allason
Art mcCary
Killetellon mcCury
John ffrizell younger
John Richee
Adam ffleming
William Crafford
William Steavenson
William Marshall
Patricke Crafford
John Mathew
Dunkan mcCoshine
James Hutchison
Hugh Thompson
James Steill
William Wilson

John Hettels
Steaphen ffray
Henry Caine
Killcollum mcKeynie ?
John Hettels younger
George Skot
James Morrison
William Dunlap younger

Swords and Muskets.

Archbald fflemming
James Hate ?
Robert Larges

Swords and Calleners.

Robert Longvill
William Cutberson

No Arms.

John ffleming
Gibert fflemming
John Steavenson
David Tullagh
John Watt
John Baytye
John Hunter
Andrew Coningham
John ffritzell
William Jesack ?
John mcNevin
Donnell mcKeen
Rober Roger
Andrew Balmand
William Young
John Steaphenson
John Lyone
Patrick bright
John Morrison
William Snyp
James Knox
Mathew Cunningham
William mcBurne
Patk ffleming
James Wilson
Hugh Sawer
John Wallas
James Morrison
Alexander Thompson
James Steward
William Young
Patrick Wright
Christopher Walker
Archbald Hunter
Donnell mcConnell
William ffrizell
Donnell mcIlman
John Poole
William Doone
Robert Miller
James Morrison
John Bayty
James Cresball ?
John Crawfoure
John Wallas
James Browne
Steaphen Cragg
William Crag
Jame forsyth
David Young
Barnard Cuningham
William Wighton
Patt Adam

The Lady Conningham Widdow of Sr James Conningham knt. undertaker of 2000 Acres her Men & Armes

Swords & Pikes.

William Conningham
Andrew McCorkill
Tobias Hood
Peter Starret
Adam Carpante
James Calquahan
John McCorkill
James Davye
James Knox

Swords and Snaphances.

James mcAdowe
Dunkan mcffarlan
James Skot
Daniel Ramsay
Patrick Porter
ffyndlay Ewing
Ninian ffoulton
William Rankin
Martin Galbreath

Swords and Calleners.

William mcIltherne
John Barber
David Walker

Sword and Halbert.

James Makee

Swords only.

Rober Muntgomery
Salloman Giffin
Robert Staret
David Reed

No Arms.

Robert Hufty
William Boyes
William Killy
Robert Johnston
Mungo Davy
Robert Pots

Sir John Kingswell, knight, 2270 acres.

Swords only.

James Symes
Thomas Coogson
William Carmighell
John Patterson
Gilbert Moryson
Robert White
William Glen
Thomas Dunlelly
Thomas Clarke
Thomas ffayrefax
John Speare
William Coogson
Robert Wilson
James Nealson
Captain Ralph Mansfeil
John Bell
Robert McTanlease
Robert Adam
Thomas Gray
Thomas ffayrefax younger

Sir John Willson, Barronet, 2550 Acres.

Swords only.

Robert Ray
John Kilpatrick
William Moneyle
John Waynes
Thomas Cranston
John mcClere
Venables Albones

Swords & Pikes.

George Irving
John Henday
Robert Bromside
John Pitts
John Davis

Swords & Snaphances.

James ffargison
John Halbert

Snaphance Only.

Thomas Lassels

Swords and Calloners.

Walter Carr — William Dixon

No Arms.

John Edgar — James Dunkin
Christopher Cale — James Nesbit
John mcClintock — Thomas Davis
Robert Robertson — Leonard Wisse
Robert Ray

Peter Benson, undertaker of 1500 acres.

Swords only.

John mcCreary — James mcCreary
Andrew Leapper — Jo: Kirkpatrick elder
Arth: Mowberry

Swords and Pikes.

John Bree — Thomas Moraphee
Thomas ffarrell

Pike only.

Gilbert Hesee

Sword and Musket.

Thomas Preston

Sword and Callener.

Richard Gikon

Sword and Snaphance.

Patrick Cherry

No Arms.

Edward Babbington — Andrew mcCheney
John mcCheney — David Key
Alexander Maxfeild

William Steward, Esquire, Lord of Dunduff, 1000 acres.

David Kenedye — John Browne
John More — John McCulagh
John Allyson — John Smeally

Sword and Snaphance.

Stephen Marshall — Archbald Bredene
Humphrey Cooke — William Wan

William Steward, Esquire.

No Arms.

Donnell mcNevin, alias McNit — James mcKergone
Alexander McWilliam — Donnell mcCarstaine
James Kenelly

Mr Cahoune Lard of Luce, 1000 Acres

Sword and Snaphance.

John Arrell — Patrick Boochanan
David Hume — Walter Barlowe
James Leach — James Creagh

Swords and Pikes.

John Watson — John Patterson
Thomas Allasone

Swords only.

John ffoster — Arthur McCurrin
Patrick Leach

Sword and Halbert.

Hugh Mure

No arms.

Patrick Morton — John Allison
John Oakenhead

Captain Robert Davis, undertaker of 2000 Acres.

Swords and Pikes.

David Payne — Robert Groome
William Johnes — James Thompson

Swords and Snaphances.

John Newton — Peter Payne
Edward Evane

Snaphance only.

William Monely

Sword & Halbert.

William Barr

Sword and Callener.

John Parry

No Arms.

George Barret older — George Barret younger
Richard Lester

Robert Herrington, Esquire, undertaker of 4000 acres.

Swords only.

John Arckly — Alexander Twig
William Bomer — William Machan
James Carskadyne

Swords and Pikes.

Robert Rochester — Robert Wyne
John Lang

Curasses and Gorget.

John Delap — John Miller, sword and pike.
William Miller, sword and pike — Arthur McArthur

Sword and Pike

John Pepells
George Russel
Thomas Howard

Pikes Only.

William Ridgate
John Cursore

Swords and Muskets.

Robert Smelly
David Gillmore
William Uprichard

Robert Herrington, Esquire.

Swords and Snaphances

Ralph Corill
John ffisher
James Darson
Patrick mcLintgo

James Conningham, Esquire, undertaker of 1000 acres

Swords only.

John Gills
Hugh Lockehart
Arth ffynlagh
ffynlay mcCredy

Swords and Pikes.

John Alexander
George White
Hugh Leay
John Harper
Thomas Stole
Andrew Arndt
Robert Graham
William Call
John Dyne
George Speare
Thomas Richmoule
Mungo Willy
Andrew Callhown

The Earle of Annandale, undertaker of 10,000 acres.

Richard Murray
John Menzes
John mcCartney
John Chancellor
John Creighton
Thomas Blane
William Ellet

No arms.

Hector Douglas
John McKilvaine
David Kernes
Alexander McMachan
Patrick Dunbar
Edward Houet
John Millegan, younger
John Vaux
Arth Horner
John Bagster
John Harvye
Thomas Carnes
Thomas Carnes younger
Thomas Hutton
William Douglass
Hugh Reed
Andrew Dunne
George Ellot
James Shan

BARONY DE RAPHO

THE LO: BPP OF RAPHO his Churchlands being 2700 Acres his Men and Armes

Swords Only.

Archbald Conningham
John ffulton
Patrick mcMan ?
Andrew Stephenson
William Kingham
George Wasson
William Richie
Thomas Elphinter
John Cocheran
Richard Carsan
William Lyne
John Walker
John Wause
Thomas mcArthur
John Harper
John Allan
William Pock
John Kenedy
James Lard
Alexander Sterrep
Robert Bookhanan
Thomas Cloughan
Alexander Gibson
John Laird
Symond Graham
ffynlay Huston
William Atkin
Alexander Johnston
John Latay
John Heslet
Thomas Kelson
Thomas Armor
John Smyth
Mathew Patterson
John Edward
James Lang
John Key
Robert Bookhanan
Wm Mickilvy
George Stephenson
Michael Lyndsay
Andrew mcIlvaine
Claud Donniell
William Henry
Hector Conne
Alexander Allen
Archbald mcCalla
Robert Wylly
John Walker
Robert ffleming
John Morrison
Archbald Stevison
John Graham
Dunkan Mountgomery
Gabraell Maxwell
Archbald Henderson
John mcCalla
James Makeene
James Davye
William Makee
James Hervy
John Carmouth
John Calwell

Swords and Pikes.

John Wylly
James Keare
George Carmighell
James Johnston
Ninian Thompson
James Spreull
John Willson
James Dick
John Steaphen
John mcPeter
John Lyndsay
John mcKindley elder
James Atterew

Sword and Musket.

John White

Callener only.

Humphrey mcLany

Bishop of Rapho

Swords and Snaphances.

James Carmighell
John Maxwell
James Mathey
Robert Barley
John Dunlap
William Corssanes ?
Robert Lyone
John Pirry
Richard Horris
Archbald Leaviston
William Lyndsay
John Wylly
Wm. Carmighell
James Allen, younger
John Stevison
John Deneson
Wm Lyone

Snaphances only.

John Willy
John Wallace

No arms.

John Hamilton, Esq
Robert White
Symon Elphinter
Andrew Knox
Hugh Allan
Donnell mcPeter
Christopher Geat ?
Robert foulton
John Steward
Robert Deneston
John mcKee
John Davy
Hugh Salsmond
Thomas Henderson
Thomas Lassilles
Richard mcCulver
Thomas Parmenter
James Mathey
ffrances Lacillis
John Kirkpatrick
William Sterret
David Grier
Patrick Enox
James Morison
Walter Lang
David Crafford
William Rankin
George Knox
John Leige
John Moore
John Leitch
Andrew Steaphen
John Snodgrass
Andrew Elphinter
John Allason
Dunkan mcGilnihill
John Roger
James Mathey
William Porter
John Henderson
Michaell Henderson
Thomas Browne
Alexander mcCulver
John Pitty
Robert Denton
William Lasillis
Michael mcCleary
John Torrenc
John Porter
John Huchone
William Boyd
Robert Robinson
Edward Gill

BARONEY DE RAPHO

THE DEANE OF RAPHO his Churchlands being 300 Acres his Men and Armes

Swords only.

ffynlay mcClentock
Dunkan Cambell
Thomas mcKeag
John Braggat

Sword and Snaphance.

William ffargison

No Armes.

John Taylor
William Wallace

The Hearth or Chimney Tax was imposed by Charles II in 1662, when it produced about £200,000 a year. The following is a complete list of the inhabitants of Raphoe Parish in 1665, having one or more hearths in their houses, as recorded on the *Hearth Money Roll, Co. Donegal, 1665.*[10]

Names of Persons in the Parish of Raphoe who paid the hearth Tax in County Donegal, 1665. (Except where noted, these persons were each taxed for one hearth.)

John Blaire of Maghrisollus
Robert Kaughlan
John Rodger
George Rodger
William McNeevin
John Patterson
John Lindsey of Naghrythan
Mecum fforrest of Gartness
James Caldwell
Archibald Spreule
James Johnston
William Alexander
John Spreull of Stranorlaghan
Donell mcMongill
Thomas Stevenson of Culladery
Richard Carsan
John Hyneman
John Carsan
James Starrat
Hugh Dryeland
John Homes
John Alexander
George Buchanan of Cullaghy
James Nevin
Andrew Lawry
Robert Smith of Gorrequigly
William Walter
David Lindsey
Hugh Henderson of Lissmontegly
Robert Coghran
William Henderson
John Harris
Andrew Rodger
Robert Snodgrass of Beltany
Widdow Perry
———lay Longe
J——— Hunter of Beltany
Alexander Perry
Alexander Orr
Robert Stevinson
John Leard of Tulliveny
Widow Gray of Cloghcorr

[10] Public Record Office, Dublin.

Alex[r] Nisbit of Cornigilligh
George ffleming
Robert Burnesyde
Archibald ffram
John Campble of Glen mcquein
Robert mcClintock
Alexander Wilson
Edward Harrys
Humphrey Wilson
Robert Laird of Assmoyne
Pattrick Lawry
William Hugh
John Homes
Pattrick Blaine of Aghenkrrage
Thomas Wylly of Cessnecully
Archibald Robinson of Paveclogh
John Walter
Edmund o'Mallroy
Torlagh o'Cassedy
Hugh o'Gallogher
John Arcles elder of Cloghroy
Bryan o'Pattan
Donell mcflurgen (?)
Torlagh o'Barran Junior
Donell o'Collour
Owen o'Mughan
Bryan mcKerran
Neale mcConnell
Gilbreed o'Doward
Roory o'Lunshaghan
Neale o'Tinny
Torlogh o'Creran
Cahell o'Patten.
Owen m[c]flfaill
George Gray
Robert Browne
Robert Mitchell
John Walker of ffindurk
James Sheills of ffigert
George Nisbit
Gabriell Homes of Ardernock
John Nisbit of Tullidonell Esq (Three Hearths)
Pattrick m flturnor
William Caldwell
James Maize of Convoy
Robert Robinson
Robert Caldwell

Torlagh o'Gallogher
Phelony mcManumy of Castletoris
John Gray
Robert Gray
David Dreddan
Robert mcflturnor (?)
Robert Smith
William Wright
Richard Wilson
James Laird
Allexander Laird
James Homes
Thomas Galbraith of Lisnowall
Walter Coninghame
Robert Nisbit
Daniell Kerr
Pattrick mcKerran of Lettermore
Shan o'Diver
Neall mcKelvy
Owen mcKehoy
John Arcles younger
Art o'Quigly
Torlagh o'Barran senior of Callen
Rooey o'Stanlan
Hugh o'Roerty
Cormick o'Diver of Drumkeen
Neale mcKerran
Edmund mcConnell
James o'Brillaghan
Shan mcKerran
Phelony o'Gallogher of Trintebog
Neale o'Donnell
William Mitchell of Ardechilly
John Davison
Thomas Rodger
James ffinlay
John Machan
Robert fforsyth
Andrew fforgison
John Allen of Kiltoell
Allexander Laird
Hugh Nisbit

Andrew Allason
Andrew Mitchell
John Maize
ffrancis Hamilton of Killinenr
Andrew Richmond

David fflood
William O'Dougey
Shan o'Twolan
Conno^{r} o'Rogan
Dunckan m^{c}Guire
Donell o'Ailfaile
Hugh Robinson
Roory o'Kerigan
John m^{c}Clure Junio^{r}
Wm. Deasly of Gobneskealey
James Paton
Hugh Dick
John Smith of Knockegerran

Owen o'Colloune

Hugh o'Mulloghey
Thomas ffram of Drumgumerlan
Bryan o'Patten
John m^{c}Cluer of Agagalty
Owenballagh o'Longan
Torlagh o'Lungan
James m^{c}Cleery
John Paton of Maghricoren
James Dick
James Moore
Donnell m^{c}Connaghy

John m^{c}Clintock of Maghoihee
Robert Matthy
William Ewing
James Henderson
Thomas Henderson
Michaell Henderson of Carrickbreak
Michaell Wallace
Allexander Murray
Robert Gemble
Robert m'Clure
Robert Lord Bpp of Raphoe, Tenn hearths.
Andrew Gordon of Raphoe
John Steuart
John Dunckan
David Hughes
John Wigton
Thomas Knox
Andrew Wigton
John m^{c}filqre
John Twyford
George Rankein
Gilbert Greer
Robert Poak
John Dunckan senio^{r}
John Moody
Allexander Walker
James Lesly
James Kirkewood
——— ———
——— ———
——— Granaghan
John Caruth
Robert Morison of Bellykoly

James m^{c}Clintock
Robert Henderson
John Henderson of Rusby
Daniell Henderson
Thomas Murray
Pattrick Bell
Robert Coghran
James Hall
Thomas Ramsey of ffindram
Robert Mitchell
Doctor John Walwood Dean Raphoe, fower hearths.
Archibald Kyle
Hugh Montgomery
James Kerr
Matthew Adam
Thomas Thompson
James Bready
Robert Quantein
Allexander Connighame
Marmaduk Coleman
Thomas Carpenter
John m^{c}Cormick
John Rankein
John Johnson
Robert ———
John Pouck
Matthew Cocken
——— ———
——— ———
——— ———
——— ———
A——— m^{c}Carter

"This Extract contains the number of Three thousand sixe hundred & forty seaven Hearths returned out of the County of Donegall for the year comenceing at Michaelmas last & ending at Michaelmas next One thousand sixe hundred sixty five

"HENRY BROOKE"[11]

Among the ruling elders and commissioners of the Presbyterian congregation of Raphoe between 1672 and 1700 were: Joseph Henderson, Edward Herries, William Mills, Michael Henderson, Daniel Henderson, Robert Anderson, Michael Pyper, Patrick Bell, Robert Dick, Alexander Stuart, William Ramsay, James Laird, James Cowden, Robert Gray, Robert Walker, John McClure, Arthur McClure, James Flemmine, Robert Gray, Richard McClure, John Sproul, Alexander McConnell and William Bene.[12]

These lists are interesting when compared with the tax lists of the Pennsylvania counties of Bucks, Chester, Philadelphia, Lancaster, and Cumberland, and with the names and genealogies appearing in the *History of Donegal Presbyterian Church, in East Donegal Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania,* by the late Dr. Jacob Lindenmuth Ziegler of Mt. Joy.

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[11] *Hearth Money Roll of Donegal.* Public Record Office, Dublin.

[12] Lecky, *In the Days of theLaggan Presbytery,* p. 144.

ITINERARY OF THE PENNSYLVANIA LINE FROM PENNSYLVANIA TO SOUTH CAROLINA, 1781–1782.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has recently acquired upwards of one thousand letters and documents of General Anthony Wayne, connected with his campaign against the Indians; an Orderly Book covering the investment and surrender of Yorktown, Virginia; and an itinerary of the Pennsylvania Line from York, Pennsylvania, to South Carolina, 1781–1782; and several Farm Books of the Waynesborough estate, many of the entries being in the handwriting of the owner.

In February of 1781, Gen. Wayne was ordered to the command of a force of about 800 men, to be selected from the six regiments of the Pennsylvania Line, then rendezvousing at York, Penna., destined to reinforce Gen. Greene in the South. Owing to the lack of equipment and sufficient transportation, and the mutiny which broke out and the ringleaders executed, Wayne's force was not able to move until May 26. The writer of the itinerary has not been positively identified.

ITINERARY.

York Town, Penna. 26 May 1781. March'd from York, this morning 9 o'clock under command Brig. Gen. Wayne & encamp'd on the road for Fredericktown,—11 miles.

May 27. Troops took up line of march at sunrise and encamp'd near Peter Little's Town,—14 miles.

May 28. Gen[l] beat at day break, march'd at sunrise, passed through Tawney Town, encamp'd on Pipe Creek—14 miles.

May 29. Gen[l] beat at day break, march'd at sunrise & encamp'd at S. W. side Manocásy,—15 miles.

May 30. This day we continued on this ground,

soldiers wash'd their clothes, cleaned their arms, & was review'd in the evening by Gen. Wayne.

May 31. Gen[l] beat at day break, troops took up the line of march at sunrise, passed through Fredericktown, Maryland, & reach'd Potomack, which in crossing in scows one unfortunately sunk some distance from shore, loaded with Q. M. stores & men, of which one sergeant and four men were drown'd. Encamp'd on the S. W. side the river, the officers baggage not being cross'd; night very wet, we took shelter in Col. Clapam's negro quarters where we tolerable agreeably pass'd the night,—11 miles.

June 1. Loudon Co, Va. Continued on the ground till evening in consequence of the wet, when we mov'd on our way to Leesburg,—5 miles.

June 2. Very wet, disagreeable time, continued here today.

June 3. Took up line of march at 10 o'clock, passed through Leesburg, the appearance of which I was much disappointed in, encamp'd at Goose Creek,—15 miles.

June 4. March'd from Goose Creek at 6 o'clock in the morning at which place we left our baggage & sick & proceeded through a low country (Prince William Co), road bad & encamp'd at ——— House,—18 miles.

June 5. A wet morning; clear'd off at 10 o'clock; marched at one on our way to Rappahannock; this night we lay out without shelter,—12 miles.

June 6. Took up the line of [march] at 6 o'clock, road very bad, encamp'd at 12 in the woods,—9 miles.

June 7. Farquar Co. This day we continued on this ground in consequence of a heavy rain pouring at night.

June 8. Culpepper Co., Took up the line of march at sunrise, waded the north branch of Rappahannock and encamp'd at ——— Ordinary,—16 miles.

June 9. March'd at 6 o'clock in the morning, waded the South branch Rappahannock, encamp'd near ——— Ordinary, the country very poor & buildings small,—16 miles.

June 10, Orange Co. Gen[l] beat at day break, troops took up line of march at sunrise; this day we pass'd a body of Militia, to number of 1800, & encamp'd in a poor barren country,—23 miles.

June 11. Troops march'd at sunrise, encamp'd at 10 o'clock,—10 miles.

June 12. Took up line of march at 6 o'clock, pass'd pines, sands, woods, & wilds, at length got to the main road leading to Fredericksburg,—11 miles.

June 13. Troops continued in this encampment this day.

June 14. We here join'd the Infantry under the Marquis [Lafayette] comm'd; march'd at sunrise through a miserable poor country, left our tents & lay out every night without tents,—9 miles.

June 15, Hanover Co. Took up line of march at sunrise; this day was attended with much fatigue & no water fit for use to be met with,—13 miles.

June 16. March'd at sunrise 6 miles & halt'd; Lieut, White & myself walk'd out to see the people & happen'd on a Mr. Parker from Penna., which family I once had known in the State,—6 miles.

June 17. March'd at 3 o'clock a.m. through the best and most fertile country we had seen in the State; encamp'd at Mr. Dandridge's Tavern,—20 miles.

June 18. A fine morning, I mounted guard this day; Tarlton's Corps advanc'd in the country, our camp struck, at retreat, all the Continental troops march'd under cover of night in order to surprise them, but at daylight we arrived at the spot where they were, they had then been gone 2 hours,—13 miles.

June 19. Henrico Co. We lay on this ground till 10 o'clock p.m., then return'd a few miles & took shelter in the woods,—4 miles.

June 20. March'd at 6 o'clock to Col. Simm's Mills where we were reviewed by the Gen[l] at 5 in the evening,—4 miles.

June 21. Troops march'd at 12 o'clock a.m. to Bur-

rell's Ordinary where we pass'd the night; Capt Wilson & myself din'd with Col. Stewart on his joining the army, —8 miles.

June 22. New Kent Co. March'd at 2 o'clock a.m. through a very well inhabited country, though can form a slender idea of the people as we see them only paraded on the road as we march along; this day we march'd through Richmond in 24 hours after the enemy had left it, which appeared to be a scene of much distress; we encamp'd 3 miles below it; Capt. Bartholomew & self return'd to the town where we pass'd the afternoon at Jos. Humphrey's in compy with a Mrs. Parke, a lady from Penna. & 2 Carolina ladys,—18 miles.

June 23. March'd at 2 o'clock a.m., halted at 8, when we had intelligence the enemys horse were within one mile of us. The army immediately form'd for action; universal joy prevail'd amongst us of certain success. We lay in this position some hours when we were inform'd it was a false alarm; moved our position for convenience of ground,—8 miles.

June 24, Sunday, James City Co. We lay on this ground this day, making ready for speedy & rapid movemt; one of our soldiers taken deserting to the enemy was tried at 4 o'clock & shot at sun set. March'd at dark in order to endeavour to surprise Tarlton's Corps—he had information of our approach & retir'd—we encamp'd,— 12 miles.

June 25. The weather so excessive warm we were obliged to lay by in daytime, in the evening we march'd to intercept Col. Simcoe who was detach'd in order to collect a quantity of cattle,—9 miles.

June 26. At 6 o'clock in the morning we came in sight of a party of Horse who on our approach retir'd before us, the first platoon of each Battn was ordered out to pursue them, with Capt. Ogden's company of Infantry who mounted behind a corps of Horse we had; these overtook them which brought on a warm action at a place

call'd Hotwater. We in this affair took about 30 head of cattle, several horses, & kill'd 20 men on the spot, with inconsiderable loss.

June 27. We mov'd to Byrd's Ordinary where we lay, I mount'd guard,—7 miles.

June 28. Struck our camp & mov'd for advantage of ground—4 miles.

June 29. Made several marches into the country in consequence of bad intelligence.

June 30. Troops excessively fatigued, we lay by greater part of the day—tents joined us this evening.

July 1. Col. Basett's, York River. Troops march'd this morning to York River in order to wash, where Dr. Downy was unfortunately drown'd, suppos'd by a fit of the Cramps,—16 miles.

July 2. Took up line of march, proceeded to Byrd's Ordinary; returned this night to our former post,—12 miles.

July 3. Took up line of march at sunrise, proceeded to somebodys old fields; about this time many soldiers very weary—7 miles.

July 4. A very wet morning, clear'd off about 10 o'clock. We had a feu-de-joy in the afternoon in celebration of Independence & fir'd three rounds blank cartridge.

July 5. March'd from this ground this evening at 7 o'clock on our way for Williamsburg, as far as Chickahominy Church, where we lay on our arms till sunrise.

July 6. March'd at 5 o'clock a.m. for Jamestown, where the enemy at this time lay in force. When the army had advanc'd within 5 miles of this town the 1st Penna. Battn was detach'd with a number of Riflemen to Green Springs who brought on a scattering fire which continued for 3 hours, when a body of Light Infantry came with the other two Battlns of Penna. troops. The line was display'd & we advanced—by this time the enemy was meeting us, when a genl action ensued. At the distance of 100 yards we chargd on their main body under a

heavy and incessant fire of grape & canister shot; at this instant we opened our musquetry. Their right flanking our left a retreat was found necessary with the loss of 2 pieces of artillery; we retired to a Church where we lay the night.

July 7. This day we lay at the Church dressing our wounded & sending them off to Hospitals.

July 8. At 12 o'clock this day we march'd on our way towards James River for convenience of camp,—3 miles—this evening I went to Byrd's Ordinary to see the officers & men that was wounded.

July 9. Charles City County, Holt's Forge & Mills. I return'd to camp; a warm day, water scarce & bad.

July 10. Troops march'd at 2 o'clock p.m. to Holts Iron Works; this country is good but surprisingly reduced by the enemy.

July 11. We lay here this day, troops wash & clean arms.

July 12. Troops march'd at 7 o'clock a.m. towards James River, roads bad; we hourly see the wanton destruction of the British here.

July 13. We had orders this day for cleaning our arms & preparing for an incorporation of the 3^{d} Batt^{ln}.

July 14. The incorporation took place & officers determin'd who was for going & who for remaining with the troops.

July 15. This day took in crossing James River at 4 Mile Creek Ferry, where our brother officers took their leave of us. We made some miles & encamp'd in a good country,—7 miles.

July 16. Chesterfield Co. March'd at 3 o'clock p.m. and encamp'd at Ware Church,—10 miles.

July 17. Troops march'd at 3 o'clock p.m. for Chesterfield Court House; the water in this county very good as yet, as well the country,—12 miles.

July 18. Troops march'd at 3 o'clock p.m. to Cheatam's Farm where we lay without our tents,—12 miles.

July 19. Good's Bridge, Appomatox River, Amelia County. Encamp'd at Good's Bridge, weather dull & frequent showers of rain.

July 20. Troops laid on this ground.

July 21. Troops lay still, cool pleasant weather.

July 22. This day we had a Sold^{r} executed for marauding.

July 23. I spent the day with Gen. Wayne & pass'd the afternoon.

July 24. We remov'd our Camp 200 yards just in rear for advantage of fresh ground. No particular accounts of the enemy.

July 25. This day this Bridge fell in about 2 o'clock; it was 30 feet high, of a very singular construction. A number of soldiers were on or about it, as well women under it washing, yet no one was hurt.

July 26. Wet disagreeable morning.

July 27. No particular news; we exercise our men by Batt^{ln} in the morning.

July 28. Rode out in the country to see it; dined at Mr. Bookers.

July 29. Orders to march tomorrow morning.

July 30. Gen^{l} beat at daylight, troops march'd by the night to Walkins's Mill,—9 miles.

July 31. We lay still this day, the country good & fertile.

August 1. Dunwoody Co. Troops march'd along brisk through this country; encamp'd in an orchard,—12 miles.

Aug. 2. Troops march'd at day light this day, we encamp'd at Monsyon's Bridge; so far on our way we expected for South Carolina,—14 miles.

Aug. 3. Gen^{l} beat at day light. This day we countermarched & return'd to join the Marquis at James River, —21 miles.

Aug. 4. Gen^{l} beat at day break. Troops march'd for Wistam Ford, 8 miles above Richmond. Cap^{ts} Bartholomew, Boude & myself rode to Richmond, remain'd all night at Manchester,—11 miles.

Aug. 5. Troops pass'd the river, encamp'd on North Bank. We return'd to camp from Wistam.

Aug. 6. Troops lay on this ground this day, which place the enemy had occupied before us. Near this place a Mr. Ballantine attempted to confine the James River to a single canal in order to transport the produce of the upper counties past the Falls, which he affected in part, also a foundery & bloomery & an excellent Malt & Brew house, all of which were consumed by Gen. Arnold except the Brew house.

Aug. 7. We lay in camp this day, when a body of Militia pass'd in command of Gen. Campbell.

Aug. 8. March'd this morning at 1 o'clock a.m.; passed through Richmond just at day light & encamp'd 3 miles below it—10 miles.

Aug. 9. Gen[l] beat at 1 o'clock a.m.; troops march'd to Bottom Bridge & encamp'd on the Savage farm. This day our baggage join'd us from Cox's Mills, all well,—12 miles.

Aug. 10. We continu'd on this ground, the enemy in force at Williamsburg.

Aug. 11. Troops lay on this ground, this country good and an excellent spring of water here for which reason this Mr. Savage is a capital sufferer.

Aug. 12. Heavy rains. A soldier of the Virg[a] Line executed for attempting mutiny, Capt. Kirkpatrick.

Aug. 13. Weather continues wet.

Aug. 14. A fine day.

Aug. 15. Troops lay on this ground; din'd at Doctor Hall's in comp[y] with several gentlemen of the Line; 8 miles out of camp.

Aug. 16. Nothing material, lay still at this farm.

Aug. 17. Gen[l] beat this morning at 2 o'clock. We march'd to Phillip's Farm near Newcastle & within 2 miles of Hanover Town—12 miles.

Aug. 18. New Castle, Hanover Co. A wet day, the country abounds in Watermellons.

Aug. 19. Nothing material occurs.

Aug. 20. Troops lay still; Mr. North, M^{c}Kenny & myself rode out to see the country & a certain Mr. Shelton's seat which was elegant & his situation singular.

Aug. 21. No movement of the army.

Aug. 22. Weather cool & pleasant; rode out & dined at a Mr. Andersons' in company with a number of Virg^{a} officers.

Aug. 23. Troops march'd at 6 o'clock a.m. & return'd to Savage's Farm where we encamp'd,—14 miles.

Aug. 24. March'd at 4 o'clock a. m. towards James River, & encamp'd at Mrs. Byrd's Farm, whose situation is beautiful. This Byrd in his lifetime was look'd on as the richest man in Virginia, but left an estate much involv'd, with a number of young children,—16 miles.

Aug. 25. Troops lay still this day admiring the greatness of this man's house and improvements.

Aug. 26. Attended Divine worship on the banks of the River under an elegant shade.

Aug. 27. Troops march'd this morning at 6 o'clock a.m. to Mawbin Mill, where is erected a stone monument in memory of a very extraordinary freshet in James River, year '71,—9 miles.

Aug. 28. Troops march'd this day at 2 o'clock a.m. to Westover,—6 miles.

Aug. 29. This day we lay on this ground furbushing our arms & cleaning our linens.

Aug. 30. This day we lay still; at night we begun to cross the river at this place which kept us two days—river at this place one mile wide & the boats very bad. Encamp'd on the south side on a Mr. Mead's farm.

September 1, Surry Co. We had information this morning of a French fleet riding in Chesapeake Bay with 4000 troops on board. At 8 o'clock we march'd & encamp'd opposite Jamestown,—6 miles.

Sept. 2. At 10 o'clock this morning a number of boats hove in sight coming up the river, with French troops on

board; they landed on James Island to the number of 3000, commanded by Marquis de St. Simon.

Sept. 3. The French boats cross'd the river this morning at sunrise and our brigade cross'd to Jamestown plains; at sunset we took post at Green Springs—a very heavy rain.

Sept. 4. March'd at day break for Williamsburg; halted on the plains, reviewed at 4 o'clock p.m. by the Marquis St. Simon. This night took post in the College, —6 miles.

Sept. 5. Pass'd this day in viewing the city & its public buildings; at night took post in rear of town in a thicket of Woods.

Sept. 6. This morning at 6 o'clock our troops took up the line of march & pass'd thro the city & halt'd at Col. Burrell's Mill, within 7 miles of York. We were now the advanced corps of the army.

Sept. 7. This morning a small party of the enemy's cavalry came within musquet shot of our advanc'd picquet; they return'd after being fir'd upon.

Sept. 8. We were reliev'd by the advance Corps of the army, appointed in orders, Gen[l] Muhlenberg commanded. We march'd & joined the army at Williamsburg. I was ordered to superintend the baggage crossing James River.

Sept. 9. I went to see Gen[l] Wayne from the river at his sick-quarters, din'd with him this day as well as yesterday; return'd to camp in the evening. [Wayne had been shot in the leg by a sentry, who had mistaken him for an enemy.]

Sept. 10. Reports this day say a gen[l] action has been fought off Chesapeake Bay between Admirals de Grasse & Hood, that the latter has made to sea & a superior fleet in pursuit of him.

Sept. 11. Nothing material done; with some Militia gentlemen, at the capital landing in company with several gentlemen of the Line.

Sept. 12. Reports say Gen. Washington's on his way to join the army.

Sept. 13. Rode out in the country & returned in the evening.

Sept. 14. Twenty-one pieces of cannon shot announc'd the arrival of His Excellency Gen. Washington in camp. The army paraded & was review'd before he alighted from his horse.

Sept. 15. Much rain today.

Sept. 16. I mount'd the Gen^{ls} Guard. The officers of the Light Infantry & Penna. Brigade waited on the Gen^{l} to congratulate him on his arrival to the Southern States.

Sept. 17. This morning Gen. Washington with the French Generals left Williamsburg to see Count de Grasse, who lays at Hampton Roads.

Sept. 18. The first detachment from the Northward, land 3 miles below Jamestown.

Sept. 19. This day I rode down to Holt's Mill in Surrey county with Mr. Collin, cross'd the river 6 miles wide, din'd with Col. Hutchins and pass'd an agreeable afternoon; return'd over the river & lay at the mill.

Sept. 20. Return to camp this morning.

Sept. 21. Second Division of the Northern troops arrive.

Sept. 22. The troops move up to Williamsburg.

Sept. 23. Every vigilence made use of in preparing for the siege.

Sept. 24. A second body of the Northward troops move to Williamsburg.

Sept. 25. Nothing occurs.

Sept. 26. Orders this day to move East of town & form the army—Americans on the right & French on the left.

Sept. 27. Orders this evening, troops to march at 5 o'clock tomorrow morning by the left.

Sept. 28. Army march this morning at 5 o'clock for York. On our arrival at its environs the British Horse

appear, the French open some field pieces, they retreat to their works; láy on our arms.

Sept. 29. This morning the army form'd a complete investment round the town & pitch'd our camp under fire of their cannon.

Sept. 30. The enemy this night evacuated their outworks & retreated within their contract'd ones.

October 1. We took possession of their outworks when a warm fire ensued which continued all day, about 40 cannon to the hour & about 10 to the hour on an average by night. Our business at first was to alter their deserted works and raise covering forts. We had 2 men killed, & Col. Scammel wounded & taken.

Oct. 2. A continual firing from the enemys works.

Oct. 3. A constant & unabating cannonade, our works go on briskly. A soldier desert'd who could give them information where to direct their shot, which killed 3 men & wounded a fourth.

Oct. 4. Our cannon & mortars arrive. This day Col. Tarlton made a charge on Duke de Luzon's Legion on Gloucester side.

Oct. 5. Our works go on rapidly. Some unfortunate men daily kill'd. A number of men preparing cannon catridges & the teams of the army all employed hauling cannon, mortars, balls and shells from the landing.

Oct. 6. A wet day. This night we run our first parallel, 3000 fatigue men at work.

Oct. 7. Preparing our batteries & making platforms under a horrid fire.

Oct. 8. We mount 10, 18 & 24 pounders & the French the same.

Oct. 9. This day, this happy day, we return'd their fire. American & French flags twisted on our batteries.

Oct. 10. Secretary Nelson came out who says, our shells do much damage & execution.

Oct. 11. Our works go on rapid. We broke ground & begin our second parallel.

Oct. 12. A tremendous fire from both sides.

Oct. 13. Two Hessian deserters came in, everything favorable.

Oct. 14. This morning a deserter says, the Infantry refuse doing duty, that Cornwallis promises them that they will be relieved from N. York & give each a pipe of wine. The Marquis at dark, storm their river battery & Baron Viominel storm'd another on their extreme to the left, with very little loss. We run our second parallel complete.

Oct. 15. This night the enemy made a sally & impos'd themselves on the French for Americans, forc'd their works & made themselves masters of an American battery which they spik'd, imposition being found out they retir'd with 8 men kill'd on the spot.

Oct. 16. Our batteries completing very fast in the second parallel.

Oct. 17. At 11 o'clock His Lordship closes the scene by propositions for deputies from each army to meet at Moore's House to agree on terms for the surrender of York & Gloucester. An answer sent by 3 o'clock when a cessation of arms took place.

Oct. 18. Flags alternately passing this day.

Oct. 19. At 1 o'clock this day our troops march'd in & took possession of their works & the British march'd out, the American and French armies form a lane through which the British pass & ground their arms.

Oct. 20. Lay quiet this day cleaning our arms—our Brigade in the trenches.

Oct. 21. British march out for their cantonments under Militia Gr^{ds}.

Oct. 22. York affords very good Port Wine.

Oct. 23. Orders for the troops to hold themselves in readiness to march on the shortest notice.

Oct. 24. Marquis de St. Simon's troops embark their cannon.

Oct. 25. Demolish our works by Brigades.

Oct. 26. Expectations of a supply of necessaries from the merchants of York & Gloucester.

Oct. 27. Reports say, Sir H'. Clinton's embark'd from N. York for Virg[a].

Oct. 28. The American cannon put on board vessels for the Head of Elk.

Oct. 29. Nothing material.

Oct. 30. I was on duty at Gloucester.

November 1. Col. Tarlton dismounted from his horse by an inhabitant who claims him, in the midst of the street.

Nov. 2. A supply of clothing purchased by agents appointed for that purpose.

Nov. 3. Distributions of the supplies.

Nov. 4. Orders for Penna. & Maryland troops to march tomorrow for South Carolina. [2d., 3rd., 5th Penna Line, and Col. Gists' Maryland Line.]

Nov. 5. Gen[l] beat at 6 o'clock; tents struck & loaded; troops marched at 9 to Burrell's Mill.

Nov 6. Gen[l] beat at day light, troops marched at sunrise, pass'd through Williamsburg, encamp'd at Byrd's Ordinary,—18 miles.

Nov. 7. Gen[l] beat at day light, march'd at sunrise, encamp'd at Kent Court House,—14 miles.

Nov. 8. March'd at sunrise, encamp'd at Bottom Bridge,—10 miles.

Nov. 9. Troops march'd at sunrise, encamped at Richmond,—13 miles.

Nov. 10. Troops begin to pass the river, craft very unsuitable for the purpose.

Nov. 11. Wagons & amunition passing the river, Maryland Line over.

Nov. 12. Our Brigade begins to pass the river. Weather very cold & wet.

Nov. 13. Continue crossing the river; one boat sunk in the middle, but the men made the shore; one horse drowned.

Nov. 14. Maryland Line proceed on their way to Petersburg; our Line over.

Nov. 15. Gen[l] beat at 11 o'clock, Brigade march'd at 12, encamp'd at Osbourne's Warehouses,—6 miles.

Nov. 16. March'd at sunrise, encamp'd at Petersburg, —16 miles.

Nov. 17. Crossed Appomatox River, encamp'd one mile west of the town; rainy day.

Nov. 18. Brunswick Co. Troops lay in Camp this day.

Nov. 19. Gen[l] beat at daylight; troops marched at sunrise, encamp'd near Dunwoody Court House,—19 miles.

Nov. 20. March'd at sunrise, encamp'd at Nottaway Bridge; road very bad,—14 miles.

Nov. 21. March'd at sunrise, encamp'd at Earl Edmisons,— 15 miles.

Nov. 22. March'd at sunrise, encamp'd at Mitchells Ordinary,—15 miles.

Nov. 23. Mechlenberg Co. March'd at sunrise, encamp'd at Hugh Millers,—14 miles.

Nov. 24. March'd at sunrise; arrived at Roanoke 11 o'clock, cross'd with great expedition; this river is about 200 yds wide & deep.

Nov. 25. Our troops lay quiet waiting for the Maryland Line. Multitude of wild deer & turkeys here; a heavy rain.

Nov. 26. Troops lay still; went out hunting, I fired at 2 turkeys, miss'd them both.

Nov. 27. Maryland Line cross the river. I rode out to see the country.

Nov. 28. Confin'd to camp in consequence of wet day.

Nov. 29. Gen[l] beat at daylight; troops march'd at sunrise; Maryland Line march'd in front alternately; encamp'd at Williamsboro,—10 miles.

Nov. 30. Mechlenburg Co., North Carolina. March'd at sunrise; country new & not much cultivated, but tolerable good: encamp'd at Harrisburg,—12 miles.

December 1. Marched at sunrise to Gen[l] Parsons, a

militia Gen[l] who owns report say 65,000 acres of land, a fine country; encamp'd near his house,—12 miles.

Dec. 2. Grenville Co. March'd at sunrise; the roads sloppy; encamp'd at Pain's Ordinary—16 miles, our course in gen[l] S. W.

Dec. 3. March'd this morning at sunrise, pass'd Caswell Court House & cross'd Hico Creek,—10 miles.

Dec. 4. March'd at sunrise, cross'd County Line Creek when it began to snow & continued till night, when it was 6 inches deep. Capt. Bartholomew unfortunately broke his leg by a fall from his horse. Encamp'd at Summers,—19 miles.

Dec. 5., Caswell Co. Troops lay on this ground, roads very bad.

Dec. 6. 100 men commanded by Major Moore, left here to bring on the heavy baggage. Capt. Boude & myself leave camp to see Capt. Bartholomew; dine at Col. Dubbs & stay all night.

Dec. 7. This day troops march'd at sunrise, the country very good. Waded Haw River at High Rock Ford, encamp'd at it,—16 miles.

Dec. 8., Guilford Co. Troops march'd at sunrise. We can form no idea of the people, as we see none but such as pass or overtake us on the road. Encamp'd at Guilford Court House,—20 miles.

Dec. 9. Troops lay in camp; very wet & cold.

Dec. 10. Troops still keep this post, roads bad.

Dec. 11. Troops march'd at sunrise through a good looking country, settled by Quakers. Encamp'd at Barney Hidles on Abbott Creek. This night Capt. Boude & myself joined the troops after staying some days with Capt. Bartholomew,—15 miles.

Dec. 12., Rowan Co. The troops took up the line of march at sunrise; pass'd through a German settlement chiefly from Penna., who farm as we do. We left a Moravian town about 8 miles to our right; encamp'd at a Mr. M[c]Creary's,—16 miles.

Dec. 13. This morning march'd at sunrise; arriv'd at the Yadkin River, which is very handsome, about 80 perches wide. Troops pass'd in boats, our wagons & cattle waded. Encamp'd within a mile of its banks.

Dec. 14. Troops march'd at sunrise; pass'd through Salisbury, a remote but tolerable handsome town, with about 60 houses; encamp'd on its environs,—7 miles.

Dec. 15. Troops march'd at sunrise and encamp'd at a Mr. Taylors,—12 miles.

Dec. 16. Troops march'd at sunrise; waded Coddle Creek & cross'd Rocky River on a bridge we made. Encamp'd on its banks,—14 miles. Din'd with Gen. Wayne & visit'd a Catawba town belonging to Indians of that nation.

Dec. 17., Mecklinburg Co. We lay on this ground in consequence of a heavy rain preceeding night.

Dec. 18. Troops march'd at sunrise; the country very good, cover'd with Oaks & Hickory. Encamp'd near Charlotte, a small town which has suffer'd much with both armies—about 40 houses,—14 miles.

Dec. 19. March at sunrise; roads bad, country likewise; encamp'd at Clem's Branch,—15 miles.

Dec. 20., Camden District S. C. March'd at sunrise pass'd through a country adjoining Catawba River & belong'd to a weak nation of that name. Encamp'd on Twelve Mile Creek, which we were oblig'd to make a bridge over of loose trees for the troops,—10 miles. This country almost destitute of inhabitants.

Dec. 21., Waxaw Settlement. March'd at 12 o'clock, encamp'd on Waxaw Creek—these creeks very full, all run a westerly course,—6 miles.

Dec. 22. Troops march'd at sunrise; cross'd several small creeks. Encamp'd near a Major Bartley's who was a staunch Whig when Cornwallis reign'd here,—10 miles.

Dec. 23. March'd at sunrise through a poor country, destitute of any inhabitants. This days march we pass Hanging Rocks—the road had marks of Gates defeat,

such as broken wagons & camp furniture. Encamp'd near Flat Rock,—20 miles. We here alter our course S. East.

Dec. 24. Gen[l] beat at daylight, troops march'd at sunrise. The country uninhabited & will remain so I presume. A very wet day & waded several creeks. Encamp'd near Camden,—18 miles.

Dec. 25. The troops lay still; today eight officers of the Battl[n] din'd by invitation with a Mr. LaCount, where we fared well & spent an agreeable afternoon.

Dec. 26., Camden. Troops march'd at sunrise & cross'd the Wateree River 1½ miles from town. This river is about 200 yds wide & runs very deep. No tide water so high up in the country. The town consists of about ——— & very genteel inhabitants, which was stockaded & fortifi'd by Lord Rawden. Encamp'd on the south side,—4 miles.

Dec. 27. Troops march'd at sunrise; pass'd through a low country compos'd of reed swamps; encamp'd at Reynold's Mill,—8 miles.

Dec. 28. Troops march'd at sunrise through a poor country & destitute of any inhabitants; known by the name of Sand Hills. Encamp'd on the banks of Congeree River,—23 miles.

Dec. 29. Troops march'd at 8 o'clock a.m., cross'd Congeree River in very good flats. This river is 300 yds. wide & very handsome. Encamp'd on the south side, near Col. Thompsons,—6 miles.

Dec. 30. Troops march'd at 9 o'clock, through a good country; encamp'd at Adam Frutley's;—12 miles. Many of the inhabitants of this day were Dutch people.

Dec. 31. Troops march'd at sunrise; the country thinly settled by Germans. Encamp'd at Orangeburg, where were a body of Militia commanded by Gen. Sumter, —12 miles.

1782, January 1. Troops march'd at sunrise through a wilderness country. Waded 20 swamps & creeks many

deep. Encamp'd on a small height in the midst of them where we saw wild parrots or parrokeets,—20 miles.

Jany. 2. Troops march'd at sunrise. We pass'd through a great many fine bodies of Pine; no kind of inhabitants. Waded a number of creeks or rather guts of water communicating from one to another. Encamp'd as yesterday,—15 miles.

Jany. 3. March'd at sunrise; low wet country; pass'd through a most elegant saw mill on Edisto River, which works with 8 saws on one frame. Encamp'd on Hickory Ridge,—10 miles.

Jany. 4. March'd at sunrise and join'd the main army, Round O. Camp & pitch'd our tents,—3 miles.

Jany. 5. Our time now devoted in cleaning ourselves & resting, after just 2 months march.

Jany. 6. I rode to see my brother at Mr. Fergusons & in order to see the Rice farms; was curious to know how the farmers raise this grain.

Jany. 7. A command of our Line of 100 men, properly officer'd to join the Infantry already detach'd; Major Hamilton was ordered to this duty.

Jany. 8. Some gentlemen of this country din'd with us in camp.

Jany. 9. Pennsy[a] Brigade march'd this morning at 9 o'clock for Jacksonborough where the Legislature now convenes. Encamp'd in its environs,—12 miles.

Jany. 10. Mr. Kinney and myself went a hunting; call'd at a house where lived a Mr. Dewees from Penna.; din'd with him and pass'd the afternoon.

Jany. 11, Jacksonborough. The army now at Round O. struck and loaded their baggage, march'd towards this post. Our tents struck & baggage loaded as well. March'd in the evening cross'd ponpon, proceeded towards John's Island, where the Infantry had collected for the purpose of carrying it, the whole army in our rear, but the tide unfortunately happened to be high, preventing our crossing.

Feby. . This day the Island & fort precipitately evacuated; we retir'd some miles & lay in this situation 12 days.

Feby. 24. We moved to ponpon; here we met our tents & baggage, when we form'd a regular encampment & built chimneys. (This being our situation, nothing material occur'd until 22 March, when the troops march'd down towards Charleston. Took post this night at Stone Church where we continued 2 nights.)

March 24. March'd for Bacon Bridge, 16 miles from the Quarter House, our detachment & Light Corps about half the distance at times. The enemy formidable at their advanced works—these being our material occurences & movements until April 12.

April 13. I was on guard at Bacon Bridge; 2 flags went into the enemy.

April 14. The weather very fine & pleasant. Our cavalry & infantry retir'd 10 miles in rear of the army to refresh. The enemy came out as far as Bacon Bridge & took Lieut. Carrington who was there & retir'd.

July 7. Nothing of material consequence turn'd up except the customary movements of armies, until this day when the army march'd at sunrise by the left to Chattles Farm on Ashley River; we are now within 8 miles of the Quarter House. We arriv'd at this ground at 9 o'clock; the weather now excessively warm. No particular accounts of our neighbours.

[Here the manuscript ends.]

THREE LETTERS WRITTEN AT BETHLEHEM, PENNSYLVANIA, IN 1778.

[The three letters which follow, are interesting for the local and general news they contain and also some accounts of the difficulties under which the Moravians, Mennonites and others suffered through the rigid enforcement of the "Test Oath." The Rev. John Etwein, the writer of one of the letters, is the eminent clergyman whose name is so prominently connected with the history of Bethlehem, during the Revolution. Christian R. Heckewelder, from the Moravian tract in western North Carolina, which they named "Wachovia," was on a visit to Bethlehem, and, as his letters indicate, was awaiting the action of the Assembly of Pennsylvania with regard to the "Test Oath," before returning South. The original letters are preserved in the Moravian Archives, at Salem, N. C.]

BETHLEHEM, Oct. 1st, 1778.

MY DEAR BR. GRAFF—

As I am going to-day on a visit to Hope, [N. J.] and do not know how soon there will be an opportunity to send letters to Wachovia, I think it will be wise now to write you a few lines, so that you and my dear ones may know how I found things here, and what has happened since my last letter, dated Lititz, Sept. 16th.

On that day I left Lititz with Br. Matthaeus, [Hehl] went by way of Heidelberg, Oley, where we visited old Br. & Sr. Bürstler,—and Emaus, and reached Bethlehem on the 19th, to my great joy and the surprise of many Brethren. Br. Matthaeus did not hurry because he knew that on Friday the 18th the Justices would be in Bethlehem to administer the oath to all Brethren who were willing; nothing happened because none of the Brethren consented to take it, though the Justices were there promptly on time. I rejoice in the unity of the Brethren, and their steadfastness is surprising. On the 22nd Br. Franz Böhler and 12 of his Emaus Brethren passed through here on their way to the Easton jail, having been summoned thither because of their refusal to take the

oath. The twelve, however, partly on account of rough treatment, and partly on account of their families, grew weak and faint-hearted, took the Oath, and left their leader, Br. Böhler, alone in prison. Later, however, he was released, the required security of £400 having been given the jailer and Fuller (sic) by him, and he was ordered to appear at the next Court. Br. Böhler is quite cheerful, and rejoices that he now knows what his value is. A number of Mennonites in Sackona [Saucon] were shamefully treated because they would not take this oath.

The Brethren are planning to send another Petition to the Assembly, which will meet in three weeks, and would like me to wait and see the result, as without it I could bring back no definite answer. I do not exactly like this, for it would throw my return trip too far into the winter, and if I should be alone (and it looks as if I would not be able to get any one from here to come with me) it will be so much the worse for me. But I will do my best to come before too late.

There are many things happening in the land. The English are said to have landed 7/M men at Hackinsack, and to have moved toward Morristown, presumably to destroy the Continental stores in that neighborhood. The New York papers also mention this, together with various other operations. At present our army is beyond North River and has probably gone to New England, perhaps to secure Burgoyne's prisoners.

Hardly any one gets the newspapers now, otherwise I would enclose one; perhaps I can send one or two before I return.

We saw in the newspaper that a Marschall of North Carolina was about to arrive by ship in New York, but it was not our Br. Marschall, and so our joy was for naught, and we had for a while rejoiced, and joy is not easy in these days. Yet it is still hoped that he can come, for Br. Close reached London safely on May 5th, and he

will surely do his best to persuade them to come for he knows right well how important it is; should our dear Br. Marschall come it may postpone my return still longer. By the younger John Bruce, a package of reports has again come from Wachovia, and Br. Schaukirch [New York] still holds three from us; however he sends only one at a time, so that if any be lost they may not all be lost at once. According to his letter a fleet of English ships was just arriving; who knows what they bring!

I will probably go to Philadelphia, with Br. Ettwein, who plans at the proper time to present the Petition to Ludwig Weiss [lawyer].

In my last letter I mentioned my misfortune with the horse. I have bought another for £60, the man will keep it till I start home, but it is only a small one, for horses here are terribly dear.

Other matters of interest must wait until my return, as I could not well include them in this.

Your humble associate,

CHRISTN RENS HECKEWELDER.

BETHLEHEM, Oct. 19, 1778.

TENDERLY BELOVED BROTHER:—

Again I take my pen to write you in the usual way, without knowing whether my last letter to you has yet been sent; but as at this moment I have nothing else to do I shall not mind the labor.

Last Wednesday, after consultation with the leaders here, I decided to start in eight days on my return trip without waiting longer for the meeting of the Assembly, which has been postponed to the 26th of this month; you will easily understand why I am anxious to leave.

On Thursday, however, Br. Nathanael [Seidel] called for me, and told me that to-day our affairs had again been considered, (on account of a letter from Br. Matthaeus in which he mentioned, that it was said on good authority, that the land in North Carolina, called Wach-

ovia, would be taken away from the Brethren), and that I should wait here till the Assembly met, and until it could be seen how things went, and what could be done for us. It was not altogether pleasant to hear that I must remain here so long, for winter is at the door and it is already quite cold; however, I submit and only hope it will be for our good,—and who knows what meanwhile may come from Europe.

While waiting I spend my time as best I may, I have already copied a Diary from Wachovia, and today or tomorrow will receive the last Indian Diary from Lichtenau for the same purpose.

I have heard no more about our two packages held in New York, but they are probably still in Bro. Schaukirch's keeping. He wrote to Br. Nathanael, that through a letter from Br. Wollin, he learned that Br. Johannes had gone on a Visitation to England, Scotland and Ireland, and one of their number, on a Visitation to the American congregations as soon as possible,—it would be pleasant if he arrived before my departure. We do not yet know who it will be. Br. Martin Mack will make a Visitation to the English islands, that is to Barbadoes, St. Christopher, Antigua and Jamaica. From Br. David Zeisberger's letter and diary, it appears that affairs are more quiet in his neighborhood, there is, however, a rumor that an army of French and Virginians intends to march on Detroit and take the fort, and that the Twightwecs have given them permission to cross their lands on the Wabash River. I heard nothing of this at home or on the journey so there may be nothing in it, or it may be that Daniel Boone (who with his company were last year captured by Indians and carried thither as prisoners, and later escaped) may have such a plan in mind. Yesterday I was in Nazareth, and as I was about to return to Bethlehem a wagon of rescued goods arrived at Mehrings tavern and was there unloaded.

The driver said that the Indians near Mennesing, from

where these things came, were killing many, that last week 12 families 30 miles from there were horribly murdered, and that they burned all barns wherever they went. This is about 50 miles from Nazareth which is more exposed to danger from Indians than are we. May the dear Savior graciously protect them.

The newspaper printed the 15th of this month contains another Proclamation from the 3 Commissioners, Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden, to the Americans, offering Pardon to all and every one, no matter who, etc., promising all former freedom, and in short everything good;—if I can get a copy I will enclose it. However, there were 13 German and English copies made of this Proclamation, signed by all of these Commissioners of His Majesty, and they will be sent to each of the 13 United States. In the newspaper the Proclamation is accompanied by a satirical article showing that there is nothing good to be hoped for from it.

In my last letter I wrote that I was thinking of going to Philadelphia with Br. Ettwein; this will probably be next week, and it has occurred to me to try to speak with our North Carolina Delegates in the Continental Congress, and ask them to say something for us to the Assembly in case the Penna. Assembly should take action for the common good. I am sorry that I do not know who our present Delegates are, or whether I know them, Br. Bagge's letter to the President, Mr. Laurence, has been held for that purpose, and will be useful when the time comes.

Of political matters one hears little or nothing, and I am greatly surprised that people here are so innocent, for we have believed that the Bethlehemites knew all that was going on. This much however may be said,—500 wagons of provisions are to pass through here to New Windsor (I hear they have had to be unloaded in Easton), of these several brigades reached here last evening and this morning, they are principally from Lancaster and

York County.—The English are now in Hackinsack, where they have fortified themselves.—A party landed in Egg Harbor, burned the boats and storehouses, took provisions, and sailed away.—About 300 Light Horse were surprised at night by the English, most of them killed, and the rest taken prisoners.—A sea fight in the English Channel between 26 English and 34 French ships of the line helped neither side much. The English had 133 killed, and 350 wounded and lost one ship.

General Washington's army on the farther side of the North River, conducts itself bravely, and is watching the English on the River up toward Hackinsack, and another army composed mostly of Indians in its rear.—Of Sullivan and his army we hear nothing.—It is rumored that if the Americans do not listen to this last Proclamation the English will all go home on the 17th of November, (we are allowed until the 11th for consideration).

It is truly a troublous time, and we may well pray constantly "God, give peace to this land."

I do not yet know whether I can bring any one from here or Lititz, but I think not, for Brethren and especially handicraftsmen are scarce, and it is very difficult to find any one who wishes to go to Carolina, one after another declares his aversion to the idea, and one dare not try persuasion unless he wishes to be openly laughed at.

The Brn. Ettwein and Schweinitz send heartiest greetings, and beg you will excuse their not writing, as during my stay they are leaving that entirely to me, and you may believe that I am ever eager to send you something. To this end I have begged to be informed of every opportunity to send letters to Carolina, and intend to post a notice in the tavern so that no chance may slip by me. But few are going thither, and this is my first direct opportunity, namely by Mr. Anth. Moore, who is going to Carey's Settlement in Rowan County.

Your associate brother

Christ^{N} Heckewelder.

Bethlehem, Nov. 16, 1778.

Dearly beloved Brother Graff.

We have been very much pleased by your letter delivered by Br. Chr. Heckewelder who arrived here the 19th of September, we were glad to hear of your well being. Brother H. would have liked to leave sooner, but we had instructions to keep him until we had sent another Memorial to the Assembly; this has been done, but we do not yet know the consequences; still as it is getting late in the year and we do not know how soon we shall get a Resolution from the House, we will not keep the brother any longer but have resolved that if our matter comes up in the Assembly this week, the Resolution shall be reported to Lititz so that he may take it with him; if this should fail, we will send a copy by Col. Williams to Mr. Bagge.

I am asked to inform you what we think about your situation and affairs, but it is hard to advise you. Like you we have been placed in a difficult position by the Test-Acts, so that He alone has been our protection and help and He alone has stopped those who wished to injure us. How we have fared and in what way we have been helped you will hear from our reports. Our greatest danger in these hard times was the evil partisan spirit which threatened to divide us; Brethren so affected are always more dangerous and harmful to a congregation than is the rough world.

The Sept. mail boat has been taken, we should know more about it; when? who? I returned the 11th of November from Philadelphia; our Memorial, signed by 294 brethren, has been very well received by the Speaker and many members who have seen it; and a "Club" of 27 have resolved that it is absolutely necessary to help us. I made it my principal business in Philadelphia to speak about Carolina with the president of congress and the delegates of N. C. Our affairs have been often discussed in Congress but no resolution has yet been taken.

The delegates of the States always try to prevent

Congress from advising the Assemblies in such matters. I told the president, H. Laurens, about your situation as far as we know it, and I learned of him that Col. Williams (a lawyer from Granville whom I used to know well in Carolina) was a delegate in Congress.

I went to see him, told him about your petition and the result, and that we could not take the oath against the king on account of our mission service and our connection with the European congregations; he said that he could understand the force of the argument, and when he heard that in spite of this we were willing to promise faithfulness to the State, and for the defence of the State instead of giving personal service we were willing to pay what we were asked, he became quite friendly, but would not promise to speak for us at the next Assembly where he would be present. He said he wanted to think it over for if he promised something he kept his word, etc.

On the 7th of November the president [Laurens] asked me to dinner and he brought Col. Williams along from Congress in order, he told me, to tell him in my presence his views about the Brethren. This he did so kindly, forcibly and to the point, that I would not have dared to say half as much. Williams opposed him several times, but he insisted that it would be unjust, impolitic and injurious to the country if the Assembly should persecute and disturb the Brethren. Williams admitted that they had been very useful to the country and that the country needed them, but he feared that they who loved the Old Government might by and by influence men against the New.

I said this would be against the faithfulness promised to the State, and when I was alone with him he excused himself and said that he had opposed the president only in order to find out his real opinion, and that he would do in the Assembly everything he could for the Brethren.

They should again send a brother with a memorial to the Assembly, he should come to him and he would pre-

sent him to such men as had the greatest influence in the House. He advised me also to speak with Mr. Harnet, who would also be present at the next Assembly. I called on him on the 9th, (he was in Bethlehem a year ago), I found him in the first interview very severe; he said why should we have more liberty than he had himself? we just wanted to secure our estates in case the opposite party should win; we had proved in the Indian war that we were not opposed to self defense, etc. When I answered his arguments he said, he was speaking as did the people who were against us, that he himself had always taken the side of the Brethren in the Assembly, that he had high regard for the Brethren and knew that they were of benefit to the country but that they had more enemies than they knew and that there were many who wanted their land, etc. At his request I went to see him once more; he seemed to be more moderate and said among other things that the Brethren were hated by their neighbors because they were too religious and too industrious to suit them. He promised to do all in his power to prevent the Brethren from being troubled, and said that he would write to the Governor at once.

I told him that if the Brethren should be persecuted on account of the Test, and forced to leave their State, they should at least be given a reasonably long time in which to look for a home in a quiet town in another State, that the delegates from S. Carolina, Virginia, New York and Massachusetts, had invited us, and promised us all possible freedom;—he said this would surely not be necessary. But it may be that the gentlemen will insist upon the form proposed by the Senate and that loyalty to the King must be renounced so long as a man remains in the State, (if the State maintain its independence, and to doubt this is considered by these men a great political crime;) should this be insisted on then we can do nothing but leave it simply with each one to act as his heart dictates, all do not think alike, but to be moved by fear

of man or other worldly consideration to act contrary to conscience, that we could never advise.

There were some among us who were willing to submit, others would rather venture and suffer all; therefore we have tried both requests and remonstrances and hope that we can hold out until help comes. As to the officers in your country we would advise that you take all possible means to make friends of them; a pair of boots, a pair of shoes, a dozen pounds of coffee, and the like, are often good arguments that one is right, and will prevent many a fine; to make use of this weakness can be no sin. Concerning Metcalf's lands and similar holdings you could perhaps intercede with the Governor, asking that if they should be confiscated they should not be granted to others until the owners' legal rights were determined, and consideration was given to the fact that they were intended for the benefit of the settlement. Metcalf long ago offered his land to the Brethren for this purpose, and should it be declared vacant, the Brethren should have the next right to it.

Concerning the shoemakers and farmers Br. Schewinitz will answer. We feel the lack of farmers everywhere; there are some shoemakers and saddlers, but not for the Brothers House.

Your true brother and servant

JOHANNES ETWEIN.

P.S.—Yesterday Brother Wallis returned from Philadelphia, and will spend the winter with Br. and Sr. Franz Böhler in Emaus.

LETTER OF WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN, 1702.

[The following long and interesting letter of William Penn to James Logan has been recently added to the Manuscript Division of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.]

LONDON 28th $\frac{m}{5}$ 1702.

JAMES LOGAN.

Thy letters both by Capt. Miller & by J. Sacher, with box of packets &c. I have received, but any thing of an answear in perticuler must not now be expected, for want of time to digest so much writeing yet something I will hint at.

1 I have writt by N. Puckle at large, and so by young Tregenes ship, Hen. Childe the person to deliver it; an honest man.

2 C. Quary is gone, I suppose run away from my prosecution & and the Mercts & Owners of the Providence, for at Notingham there is a Tryall this Assize on yt acc^{tt}. likely to goe agst him for £2000 tho there are endeavours usd to putt it by till ye records of ye Tryall in ye Province arrive. He is an artfull Knave & so govern thyselfe towards him.

3 I believe P. George will be your viceroy, & ye Council of Trade his Council, with a change of members; wch may better things there, he being an honorable & worthy man; and I hope so will his Lt. Genll & Admirall be, yt will superintend wth a fleet for those parts of the world, but of this only informe the Gover & a few discreet Persons upon discretion.

4 I believe this Parl. will not meddle with our Grannts, but I am willing to settle things, wch would please some people, for whose sake, & because we will first be justified agst Quarys vile & base informations, I have refused to comply as yet with terms, tho I know they are advanced agst us for that reason.

5 By all means hasten Kebles Cirtificat authentick, & urge Govr Hamil[ton] or ye Magistrates to oblige Ch. Reed to give his evidence about that knavery. Q. has huddle up his accts. by Blathwaits means, with ye Lds of ye Admiralty, unknown to the Drs. Commons, but all will be overhal'd. Whatever you do, load him wth truths insted of the falshoods he has loaded us with. He has so basely used Gov. Ham. that there is [no] Peace with such a villain; his Perry & others, saught to me for it; but I could not be such a culle and senseless creature, as to accept of it. I will sooner loose all than be at peace with a forger of lies to ruine me.

6 By my son, (and family I think) at least by the Messenger (that if it stays not for him thinks of sayling in 10 or 12 days) I shall be more particular. However, I hope by this to send the answers Q. gave to my complaint, & my reply; by wch you will have an hint of things how close I strike. Malitia (?) is all they have to hitt us with. Govr Ham: the D. of Somerset tould me was not refusd by ye K. or Q. on any acct. But a charge of indulgeing of Scotch Traders & ships, wch that founder'd fellow Randall took his oath of, & offer'd to repeat it, and that being a main point he feared would hardly suffer the Q. to allow him us. But the D. of Queensborough being upon ye raode, I shall apply to him (with the D. of Somerset, now Master of the House) so soon as arrived, to encounter yt difficulty, & send ye event with the first opertunity; for his name lyes before ye Queen for her approbation, & has a great while, I am just come from the Lord High Treasurer & Ld Privy Seal, who promess to recommend him to ye Queen ye next cabinet, or have her reasons; also an order to hear the Lords of Trade & me upon Quarys Impostures & visions. I yet hope a tollerable Issue.

7 Nothing will hinder my sons family & him consequently more than ye visitation with ye small pox the Lord clears ye poor country of it.

8 I want advice for those scraps of bills, they ask for you Mundy especially, Capt Hyde takes time for ye 13 lbs to accept or not, ye 40 ss. he has accepted pray hasten more.

9 I had hopes to have writt thee my daughter was married, but a messenger is come from Chichister to call away John, so yt I must press, but 2 days hence (5th this being 3d) ye solemnity will be over. I leave to John ye story of ould & young Mast^{rs} or *Mark* to save time & room

10 Pray quiet Ed. ffarmer, J. Growden &c: till my son comes, unless I should have more time to be perticular now wch is doubtfull, ye winde being faire, after long westerly winds.

11 Goverr Ham. is to have £200 p an. made good by me, if fines and perquisits amount not to it. I am no other wise concern'd here is a settled animosity agst him, wch would I but connive at not 14 days agoe I was offer'd w^{t}. I would for a new deputy. But I dispaire not yet of him.

12 Tho ffairman, since thou knowst his abilitys, good will to me &c treat him accordingly, till thou hast myn p^{r} my son.

13 Things within doors move with an unspeakable delatoriness here, but seem vigilent abt forraign affaires; or we had come to an issue longe agoe.

14 Pray let us have affidavits of Sneads frauds, moore saying, so he might get mony, he cared not how, nor of whom, also wt betty web & weaver can remember of her husbds accts wt mony. R. Web pd Quary, and compare it with the inclosed acct I want ye last appraisemt of Lumbys goods; faile not to send it, authentick.

15 I send thee a copy of G. Heathcots agreemt & by yt his baseness will be better seen, also the atturny Genlls opinion as to admiralty Jurisdiction & the outcry of Quary about ye water balyifs Comissn.

16 Pray lett Wm. Hall have full powr abt my interest,

& if [$^{\text{he}}_{\text{you}}$] can secure S. Hedges agst one of ye falsest of men Dr. Cox. I have his fathers Interest, yt if I had nothing else I take it to be sufficient, young cox sent to me to wait upon me, I answered wn he pleased wn in town, but never come at me, if there use him as he deserves. Kit after Kine. Thy caracter of T. ff is ye Docs. to an haires breadth.

17 There is no need of holding any assembly, & I had rather it were putt by till the laws are confirm'd at least till a depty. be approved wch shall be ye same if faire or hard words can prevale.

18 C. Quarys denys he ever sayd he was to have ye Kgs 1/3d for his sallary, or that he ever writt to York to T. wenham for that lettr back yt Inclosed the Comis. to T. ff. & J. W. for water balifs; or that he sent it on ye provocat. of affidavts sent by me for enq. agst him or that he ever urged under appraismnts upon C. Reed &c in favour of owners in all wch methinks thou mayst be able to contradict some things thou hast already, as to thy affidavit, & wt thou sayst of Ch. R. discourse, 2 horrid prevarications & most audacious untruths & denials of truths, more in both those respect would be good here; since wt distroys his credit disapoints our enimys here as well as there, who use him for a toole agst us.

19 He has confidently told ye Lords & Queen in Council he was deny'd an appeal in Byfields case, & therefore pray'd an order to have the cause over to be heard before ye Queen, but Bif[ield] & he crossing one another before ye Comer of Plantations, one saying yt J. Moor refus'd tryal because his Clyent Bif[ield] ordered him to have a jury upon oath, & B. deny'd he gave any such instruction, or even to appeal itself upon a judgemt receiv'd, hobbles Quary & his Matters extreamly. In short ye Bp. of Lond. & Comr. Blathwayt are sayd to have sent for him over to prejudice us & the govermt. and ye Bp. being one prop fide, I apply to an higher bord, where I now am, viz, a committe of ye ministers, yet

about ye months public before marriage, he seemed reasonable. I have, because I must have done, only R. Janny &c fell into the french hands wch I refer to Sacher as I do him to my Cómrs. to encourage him, for I will have John rewarded well.

20 I bless ye Ld we are pretty well, all our Dr. loves to ffrds if named, the Govr. & Council & Comer of Ld and pub. ffds. in perticuler. The Hopewell I am not free to ensure, but hear nothing of her. Pray see wt thou canst do to detect Quarys acct. herin sent, by him given to ye Comers of ye Customs & Lords of the Admiralty; it is of great moment but wt ever is done, one or two witnesses viva voce, outway 100 affidavits. The Parl. & Judges rejectg. them. But the wise Comers. of T. & P. need none but can Judge exparte; for wch they are growing rediculous; however affidavits are better than nothing & goe a great way wth ym wn they can perswade ym selves to be indifferent, remember me to J. Bewly, tell him I never made use of ye cirtificat he signed; he is well esteemed at ye Custom house.

21 Pray let me have a clear acct of ye remainder of our & T. & Ls. debts about Gillams good to finish here, wch I cant for want of it.

22 Tell T. ffairman I dined tother day with his Bro. & Sist. in Southwark, where I did him some service; & his Bror. is hearty, & is for coming too. I must conclude for this time. I am.

thy reale ffriend,

Wm. Penn.

Let S. Carpenter Know how well I take his love, tho by reason of J. Gs being at ye Bath I have done nothing in it as yet also salute me to Is. Norris whose love & respect by his lettr. I was pleased with & acknowledge. W. & Jane Biles come now, she has a request to ye Comers. if reasonable favour her else keep tite to your rules. I cannot just now find G. H. paper, may perhaps ere ye ship goes. ffor my cos. ashton I am willing to be as kind

as I can, & am sorry the Town Clashes with the Country; let the Gover^{r} be desired to mediate yt affaire, for ye land. It is asking me so much mony out of my pocket, nor will I let it goe for 4 or 500 acres, but to reduce his other pretentions, & give security for ye overplus of ye vallue, if any, and in case it ever was a part of ye Mannor of Springfield, I cant part with such a quantity, but more of this fr my son; only tell ed. ffarmer nobody else, if not he, shall have a foot of ye land he requires of me. vale.

THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD IN PENNSYLVANIA.

BY EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER,
Professor of History, University of Michigan.

Fugitive slaves escaping into Pennsylvania from their masters living farther south, were a source of trouble in the earliest colonial days. In 1702, William Faussitt, of Somerset County, Maryland, sued Joseph Booth, of Sussex County, now in Delaware, because of "one Nigroe man Stollen and Carried away" whom the defendant had harbored. Faussitt was awarded thirty pounds. Frequently, thereafter, the colonial newspapers contained advertisements for negro slaves who had escaped to the north, and offered rewards for their apprehension. "RUN away," says the *Maryland Gazette* of May 27, 1729, "from *Samuel Peel's* Quarter, call'd *Turkey-Island* in *Anne-Arundel* County, on *Sunday* the 27th of APRIL last, a Negroe Fellow call'd *Limehouse*, about Thirty Years old. He had on when he went away, a new felt Hat, a new grey Fear-nothing Coat, one new and one old Cotton Jacket, a new brown Osnabrig Shirt, a pair of newish light Fustian Breeches, and a pair of old Cotten Breeches, a pair of white Country made Yarn Stockings, a pair of good Negroe Shoes. Whoever will secure the above Negroe, so as to deliver him to his Overseer *Nicholas Aldridge*, at the said Quarter, or to the Subscriber at *London-Town*, shall be paid Twenty Shillings more than the Law allows, by me Samuel Peele." On both sides of the Maryland line the journals have many such notices.

There is little doubt, that this fleeing from service was a cause of much trouble to masters of Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, and it is probable that many of the negroes were never recovered. Nevertheless, during the colonial period, there was much less difficulty

than there was later on, since the local authorities in Pennsylvania were willing to give as much assistance as they possibly could. During this time many people in Pennsylvania themselves owned slaves who ran away, and therefore the authorities made laws to provide for their apprehension and return. All suspicious and wandering negroes were taken up and lodged in the jails and advertised and held until the masters came to get them. A runaway might cause a Southern owner a great deal of trouble and loss, but the owner could usually get him again if he tried; at least the people of Pennsylvania interposed no obstacle.

After 1780, and particularly after 1800, there was a great change. Gradually the people of Pennsylvania became hostile to slavery and unwilling to assist slave-owners in any way. As time went on many persons were glad to hinder the masters and help the fugitives as much as they could.

There were many reasons for this. Because of economic conditions, and because of the early opposition of the Germans and the Friends, slavery had never assumed large proportions in Pennsylvania. Between 1730 and 1780 the Quakers set all their slaves free, while in the latter year the legislature approved the first abolition act ever passed in any of the states. Meanwhile the first and greatest of all the abolition societies had been founded in Philadelphia, and many people, particularly the Friends, desired to bring slavery to an end in Pennsylvania and elsewhere as soon as they could. Therefore, it was that when runaway negroes got across the line, they now received far more assistance than the pursuing masters.

For some time this was not clearly realized in the South, and the Pennsylvania papers continued to have numerous advertisements about slaves who had escaped from Virginia and Maryland. The border newspapers have a great many of them. A Maryland owner offered

$50 reward in the York *Pennsylvania Herald* of June 7, 1797, while a Virginian promised $30 in the Lancaster *Intelligencer* of October 16, 1799. A Maryland man advertised $400 for three runaways in the *Harrisburg Chronicle* of October 17, 1831; and as late as 1836, the *Chambersburg Whig* announced $100 from a resident of the District of Columbia. After this time such notices become exceedingly rare.

In Pennsylvania sympathy for fugitives and hostility towards the slave-owners who claimed them, were first shown by individuals and private organizations; later on by the majority of the people of the state; and finally by the state itself.

Early in the nineteenth century Sutcliff, the traveller, speaks of a tailor living in Philadelphia, who used to sit at his window as he worked. Whenever he saw a negro who looked like a runaway, he would go out to offer him assistance, and would help him to elude his pursuers and get to the interior parts of the state. At the same time the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery used to give legal assistance to negroes who were claimed as fugitives, and would try to have the courts set them free on the strength of some legal technicality. In 1819, the Journal of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives states that "Mr. Purdon presented a petition from sundry inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia . . . that in consequence of the difficulty of recovering slaves who are runaways from the southern states, the number of blacks has increased to an alarming extent in the said city, and praying legislative interference."

There now came to be many people, especially among the Friends, who would incur any risk in helping and concealing fugitives. These men were particularly active along the borders, and nowhere more so than in the southeastern part of the state. Columbia in Lancaster County was notorious because of the difficulty which Southerners encountered there in recovering runaway

slaves. Negroes could frequently be traced to the neighborhood of this place, after which every clue was lost. It was often a matter of wonder how the negro could thus manage to drop out of sight. One day a disappointed slave-owner is said to have exclaimed, "There must be an underground railroad somewhere." Such, according to Smedley, the historian, was the origin of the term which afterwards became so celebrated throughout the United States.

The workings of the Underground Railroad were various, but they are not easily described, since for the most part we know of them only by tradition. Before the Civil War those who assisted runaway slaves to elude their masters, did so in defiance of Federal laws. After 1850, particularly, they were liable to heavy penalties. Accordingly the operators of the shadowy road seldom wrote down at the time what they were doing, and gave accounts only under pledge of secrecy. A diary long in the possession of Grace Anna Lewis, of Media, contains many blank spaces where names and incidents relating to the railroad were omitted. Such accounts as are extant were usually written long after the occurrences which they relate.

At first the greater number of the Underground Railroad operators were peaceful and law-abiding men, and many of them always were so. They were moved simply by pity for the slave. They believed that slavery was wicked, and that the fugitive slave law of 1793 was wrong, even though it was the law. Hence they believed it right to help the negro, and frustrate or outwit the master whenever they could. They seldom did more than feed and hide the slave, and carry him over the next stage of his journey. Masters were received courteously, but given no information and no assistance. These were the methods of the Quakers, who took such an active part in all of this work.

John and Hannah Cox, of Longwood, in Chester County,

frequently helped negroes. One night, a man, a woman, and a child came to their farm. The runaways had left their master in Maryland because they feared that he would sell them south. The Coxes gave them food and clothing, and at the first opportunity helped them on their way. On one occasion a runaway negro jumped from a train and injured his leg. If he were sent to a hospital, his master would certainly recover him; therefore some Underground Railroad people of West Chester cared for him the whole winter. In 1843, sixteen negroes got to York. They went to Joel Fisher's house, whence they were taken to a corn-field nearby and hidden under the shocks. During the next night they were carried a stage farther to Lewisburg, on the Conewago, where they were concealed several days. When the pursuers had ceased hunting for them, William Wright and one of his friends chose a gloomy November night to ferry them across the swollen stream. On the other side the negroes hid in the woods, and a little later got safely to Canada. The Gause family who lived near Kennett Square, kept what might be termed a signal station on the Underground Railroad. Their place was a centre of activity. On one occasion, Harlan Gause drove a family of negroes through the woods at night. Later on he loaned his horses and wagon to a Massachusetts man who planned to carry a number of slaves out of Maryland. The invader was caught and sentenced to life imprisonment. Sometimes the fugitives reached the Underground stations in deplorable condition, starved, exhausted, and nearly destitute of clothing. In 1851, four slaves came to William Wright's house almost naked. At times the women would be dressed in only one garment.

As the years went on this activity of the Underground Railroad operators was carefully organized and became very effective. A large correspondence was carried on, and secret information could be transmitted very rapidly. The following is one of the letters written:

"SCHUYLKILL, 11th Mo. 7th, 1857

"WILLIAM STILL, *Respected Friend:*—

"There are three colored friends at my house now, who will reach the city by the Philadelphia and Reading train this evening. Please meet them.

"Thine &c.,

"E. F. PENNYPACKER.

"We have within the past two months, passed forty-three through our hands, transported most of them to Norristown in our conveyance.

"E. F. P."

But these peaceful methods were not the only ones employed. From assisting runaways it was only a step to resisting the masters. In the end even the Quakers became more aggressive, while other people had been so almost from the first.

After 1820, the new methods were more and more in evidence, and the pursuit of a fugitive slave in Pennsylvania became increasingly dangerous. The colored people of the State now began to take an active part. In January, 1821, a respectable citizen of Baltimore pursued his runaway negro into Pennsylvania, and entered at night the house where the negro was staying. He was shot dead, and his assistant beaten so dreadfully that he died a short while afterward. In this instance the master had made the mistake of entering the house without a warrant; therefore, says Niles's *Register*, the negro will probably be acquitted. Three years later, the court ordered an accused runaway to be lodged in jail. At once a large crowd of armed negroes attempted to rescue him, so that the court was compelled to adjourn. On this occasion the ringleaders were severely punished.

As a rule, the negroes received all the sympathy no matter what might be the merits of the master's case. In 1825, says the *Greensburg Gazette*, a gentleman, who was taking his two slaves back to Maryland, stopped at York for the night. When morning came, he found that his carriage had been cut to pieces. In this locality there was a great deal of indignation at the manner in which captured fugitives were taken back. The same paper denounces two men who tied a slave to the gig-shaft, and then drove off at full trot.

All sorts of expedients were employed to outwit the masters. Sometimes the Quakers gave the pursuer an excellent meal, and read long chapters from the Bible, while the negro was being taken to the next farm. In 1835, two citizens of Virginia, having caught their two negroes, were passing through western Pennsylvania on their way home. At one place where they halted they placed the negroes in jail for safe keeping. A large crowd then collected, and there was angry remonstrance. Only a small pretext was necessary, so the masters were arrested for travelling on Sunday. Volunteer lawyers at once appeared to defend them, and did their part by making speeches of prodigious length. Meanwhile the negroes were set at large, and long before the farcical trial was over had disappeared. They were never recaptured, but the United States court awarded $600 and $830 to the masters respectively.

After a while the recovery of a fugitive became dangerous in the extreme. In 1842, there was much excitement at Harrisburg when two fugitives were arrested. The magistrates quickly discharged them on a technicality, but the slave-catchers not yet dismayed, tied them with ropes and tried to bring them before the court a second time. On the way a great mob of negroes attacked the captors with sticks and stones. It is said that there was at Harrisburg, at this time, a band of negroes who had united to resist and punish slave-hunters. In 1860, a fugitive was remanded to the custody of his masters at Lancaster. Immediately a crowd of negroes attempted his rescue and a riot ensued.

One reason why the master encountered so much abhorrence and detestation, was that kidnappers sometimes got possession of free negroes by asserting that they were fugitive slaves, and kidnapping was hated as much as any crime in Pennsylvania. In 1852, a police officer, a certain Ridgly, came from Baltimore to Columbia. He procured a warrant, and along with a United States

marshal arrested an alleged fugitive who had been living there for several years as a free man. The captors then started for Harrisburg, but were soon followed by the inevitable crowd of negroes. In the excitement which ensued the officer was severely bitten, whereupon, losing his presence of mind, he shot the captive dead. By travelling all day and all night he just managed to get across the Maryland line. The local newspaper comment was one of unqualified condemnation. "It makes one shudder," said the Harrisburg *Whig State Journal*, "to think that slave-hunters from other States can, and do, enter our borders, seize our citizens, and *without provocation or proof that they are slaves*, coolly shoot them down like beasts of prey."

Sometimes even the public officials resisted the recovery of a slave. Lydia Maria Child, writing of Robert Wharton, says: "To the honor of this worthy magistrate be it recorded, that during forty years whilst he was alderman in Philadelphia, and twenty years that he was mayor, he never once surrendered a fugitive slave to his claimant, though frequently called upon to do so. He used to tell Friend Hopper, that he could not conscientiously do it."

Last of all the government of the state of Pennsylvania gradually reflected the opinions of the mass of its people, and although it could not itself assist the men of the Underground Railroad, began to interpose legislative obstacles to the recovery of fugitive slaves.

In the beginning the state had not been unfriendly to the interests of Southern masters: indeed in 1826, a law was passed which guaranteed a certain amount of assistance. But as public sentiment changed the existence of this law upon the statute books became more and more irksome. Accordingly, when in the case of Prigg *v* Pennsylvania the Supreme Court of the United States declared the law unconstitutional, the legislature not only repealed it, but in 1847, passed another law exceedingly hostile.

This statute forbade the people of the state to give any help whatever to pursuing masters, and denied them the privilege of lodging in Pennsylvania jails the slaves whom they had captured. Furthermore, it made the entire process a hazardous one, since the burden of proof rested upon the slave-catcher, who could easily be accused of kidnapping. This action of Pennsylvania was undoubtedly one of the things which made necessary the Federal legislation of 1850.

The United States Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 was designed to redress the grievances of Southern masters. In accordance with its provisions, people of Pennsylvania might be summoned to assist in capturing a negro, and most drastic penalties were denounced upon those who obstructed the return of a runaway. For a while the local newspapers record considerable activity in the securing of negro fugitives, but after a short time people were found willing to defy even the law of the United States. This was shown in the terrible Christiana riot of 1851, when Edward Gorsuch of Maryland was beaten to death by a mob of infuriated blacks, while the white people of the neighborhood did nothing to assist the Federal officials.

Many persons at last besought the state legislature to do that which twenty years before had caused such bitter condemnation of South Carolina. Pennsylvania was virtually asked to nullify a law of the Federal government. There were some who had sought to do this indirectly in 1838, when a convention had assembled to draft a new constitution for the state. On February 3, Mr. Biddle asked that jury trial "be granted to all persons who may be arrested as fugitives from labor, and who shall claim to be freemen." This would have been in defiance of the Federal statute of 1793; but although the proposition was defeated, it was supported by a huge number of petitions from all over the state. The matter went much further than this, however. In 1858, the Pennsylvania

Anti-Slavery Society circulated a petition intended for the legislature. "We the undersigned, inhabitants of the State of Pennsylvania, respectfully ask that you will pass a Law prohibiting the surrender of any human being claimed as a Slave upon the soil of Pennsylvania." Had such a law been passed, it would have been nullification pure and simple. Numerous petitions of this kind actually came to the legislature.

All of this was not done without arousing great opposition on the part of the business interests of Philadelphia and of conservative people throughout the state, who hesitated to offend the South. That Pennsylvania's actions had awakened hostility became very clear about 1860. Therefore, not a few persons urged the legislature to repeal hostile enactments, and pass laws assisting Southern masters. The *Public Ledger* of January 3, 1861, notices a petition 500 feet long, signed by numerous business men, and containing altogether nearly 11,000 signatures. Probably nothing would have been done, but in any event it was too late, for the South was now resolved neither to ask nor endure anything more, but to seek redress by leaving those who had become hateful to her.

Such was the Underground Railroad in Pennsylvania, and such were the feelings of the people of the state towards the questions of slavery and fugitive slaves. When these feelings are understood, it becomes evident that the Underground Railroad was but one of the instruments used by the state in her long warfare against slavery, a warfare so aggressive as to distinguish her above all of her sister commonwealths.

GENEALOGICAL GLEANINGS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

BY THOMAS ALLEN GLENN.

EMLEY. A record preserved by a descendant of William Emley of West Jersey, states that he was born at Torworth, 1648. Torworth Grange is quite a large farm in the parish of Blyth, Notts. The family assumed the surname de Emley from a parish of that name in the Lower Division of the Wapentake of Agbrigg, West Riding of York, and 29 miles from Blyth. There remains the record of a Fine, final concord dated "from the day of St. Martin in fifteen days," 42 Hen. III. (1257), Paul, son of Roger de Emeley, pltf., and Robert, son of Thomas de Flincham and Lucy his wife deforciants, touching certain lands and tenements in Plumtre, some three miles from the hamlet of Torworth, and a little over two miles from Blyth. Paul, who thus acquired lands near Torworth, was the second or third son of Roger, and the ancestor of the Emleys of that place and neighborhood.

Thomas Emley of Torworth Grange, born about the year 1580, was buried at Blyth Church, 2 Nov., 1634. By his wife Margery (buried 5 Dec., 1651), he had (a) Alice, bapt. 29 Sept., 1606; m. 7 May, 1651, John Browne, (b) William. bapt. 28 Jan., 1607; d. unm.; burd. 15 June, 1672, (c) Katherine, bapt. 22 Nov., 1609; m., 1637, Hugh Cartwright, (d) John, bapt. 24 Oct., 1611, (e) Anne, bapt. 30 Jan., 1613; burd. 26 Feb., 1613–14, (f) Gertrude, bapt. 29 Sept., 1615; burd. 11 Oct., 1615, (g) Thomas, bapt. 12 May, 1619, *of whom presently*, (h) Anne, born 1621–2(?); burd. 12 Sept., 1623.

Thomas Emley and Margerie Grantham were married at Blyth, 13 Oct., 1605. Thomas was son of Thomas Emley, and nephew of John Emley of Thorneton, whose will of 18 Sept., 1590, was proved at York, 13 Nov., 1590

(York Reg., vol. 24, fo. 504). Anne, daughter of Thomas Emley the elder was burd. at Blyth, 16 Jan., 1611.

Thomas Emley, 3d son of Thomas and Margerie, bapt. 12 May, 1619, married ——, and died probably near Rufford, where the family had held property, after 1672. He had (a) William, bapt. at Blyth, 15 Sept., 1648. He joined the Society of Friends and removed to Mansfield, 14 miles N. W. of Nottingham, and 12 miles from Blyth, from whence he removed to West Jersey, where he was a Commissioner, and High Sheriff of the County of Burlington "from Assaprut to Oldman's Creek," 25 Mch., 1681 (Mt. Bk. Supreme Ct. W. J., Clement Mss., I., fo. 73).

HUDSON. Will of William Hudson of the City of York, dwelling near Walmgate Bar, tanner. Dated 23 June, 1705. Proved at York, 20 May, 1713 (York Reg.). The testator mentions his housing and farm in Rydnes formerly purchased of John Prince by his (testator's) wife Jane Waite (she being then unmarried), together with two closes (fields) in Foggerly Lordship; his housing and farm in Akaster Malvis in the County of the City of York; his dwellinghouse, garth, and other buildings near Walmgate Bar; his arable lands in Gate fulforth fields, being 7 acres, also two closes near Boultham Bar, a portion of which the testator bequeaths to his son William Hudson then "in Pensilvania."

The testator mentions the children of his said son William Hudson, without specifying them by name; also his (testator's) son Timothy Hudson (sole executor), Nehemiah Morley's sister, Susanna, and friends Thomas Harrison and Nehemiah Morley of York. Signed: William Hudson. Witnesses: Will Adwick, Samuel Ellison, John Winder.

Codicil 23 Oct., 1711, mentions Mary and Elizabeth the eldest daughters of testator's son William, and other children of said William (names not given). Robert, son of Timothy Hudson, and grandson of testator, Mary,

dau. Timothy Hudson, and granddaughter of testator; William, son of Timothy Hudson, and grandson of testator. Witnesses: Philip Thomlinson, Christopher Ash, Christoph^{r} Cooke. Proved as above by Timothy Hudson son and sole executor of the deceased.

The testator was the son of William Hudson of the City of York (Corp. Recds. of York), and father of William Hudson, Mayor of Philadelphia.

TAYLOR. Robert Taylor of Clatterwich, Little Leigh, parish of Great Budworth, Chester, removed to Chester Co., Pennsylvania, 1682. Clatterwich is a farm in the township of Little Leigh. The writer did not enter the house, which is interesting, when Leigh was visited, owing to an outbreak of small-pox in the hamlet, and the customary official restriction.

Robert Taylor of Clatterwich, Little Leigh, parish of Great Budworth, born *circa* 1480, married Joan ——, and was father of Thomas Taylor of Clatterwich, buried at Great Budworth Church, 20 May, 1562, who was father of Thomas Taylor of Clatterwich; buried 3 August, 1575; married Joan —— (buried 27 Feb., 1575–6, at same Church). The latter were parents of John Taylor of Clatterwich, whose will of 16 March, 1625, was proved at Chester, April, 1627. John Taylor married, 1st, 18 July, 1575, at Great Budworth, Joan [?Oatleigh] (or Oatcliff), who died about 1609 (burial record not found). He married, 2dly, 7 Dec., 1611, Alice [?Passie], buried 14 Dec., 1631. The children of John Taylor were: (a) Ellin, bapt. 21 Oct., 1582, (b) Lawrence, bapt. 16 April, 1583; living 1627, (c) Catherine, bapt. 9 Feb., 1587, (d) Thomas, bapt. 14 Oct., 1594, *of whom presently*, (e) Richard (bapt. not found), living 1627. Lawrence seems to have died without issue surviving; at any rate Thomas, the 2d son succeeded at Clatterwich, where he died 168—., leaving issue, Robert Taylor, bapt. at Great Budworth Church, 15 Dec., 1633, who removed to Pennsylvania as above stated. The succession at Clatterwich, when not

proved by entries in the Parish Register are from local rolls (Pub. Rec. Office).

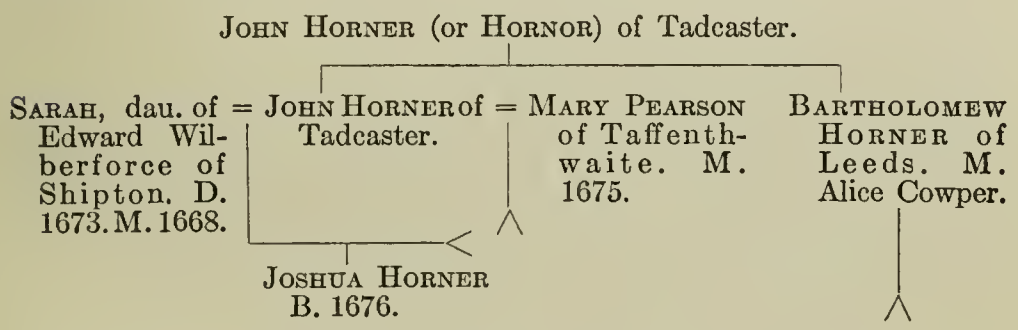
CROASDALE. Thomas Croasdale of New Hay, Yorkshire, had a deed for 1000 acres of land in Pennsylvania, 500 acres of which were surveyed to him in Bucks County. The Croasdale family of New Hay, or Newhaye, Waddington, were wealthy yeomen, and their connection with Waddington commences at a very early period. Thomas, son of Edward Croasdale was baptd. at Waddington, 20 May, 1644, and married (Friends Records), May, 1664, Agnes, daughter of William Hathornwaite of Wyerside, Lancashire. He was at the time probably 21, or 22 years of age, and was great-grandson of Henry Croasdale of Newhaie in the County of York, husbandman. The latter's will, dated 28 April, 1595, was proved at York, 10 Sept., 1595, by his son Robert and widow Helene. The testator mentions his houses, tenements, and lands in Newhaie; wife Helene; Robert, Thomas, and Margaret, his (testator's) children; John Walmysley of Hodderhouse, his brother-in-law; and Thomas Croasdale (Crosdale) his (testator's) brother; also, testator names Christopher Turner of Newton, Alice Bateman, servant, and Robert Bailey, of Bradford. Witnesses: James Haworth, Thomas Robinson, John Walmysley senior, Henry Waddington, Thomas Crosedale and John Walmgoley (?Walmysley) junior.

Thomas Croasedale of Newhaye, Waddington, a Churchwarden, whose will of 4 Jan., 1638, is in Bdle. for June, 1639, York, was buried at Waddington, 29 July, 1638.

HORNER. Births:—(still born), child of Bartholomew and Alice Horner of Leeds, born 1666, 11, 20. Benjamin, son of Bartholomew and Alice, of same, born 1667, 11, 6. Thomas, son of Bartholomew and Alice, of same, born 1669, 4, 30. Joshua, son of John Horner of Tadcaster, born 1676, 11, 7. Joseph, son of Bartholomew and Alice, of Leeds, born 1676, 6, 31. Joseph, son of Bartholomew and Alice, of same, born 1676, 6, 30.

Marriages: Jane, dau. William Horner to James Janson of Wooldale in Coverdale, at house of Richard Geldart in Carlton, 1664, 12, 19. Bartholomew Horner of Leeds to Alice Cowper, of Woodhouse, at house of Richard Stirke of Woodhouse, 1666, 3, 2. John Horner Jr. of Tadcaster to Sarah dau. Edward Wilberforce of Shipton, 1668, 3, 24. Ralph Horner of Wass to Ellis (*sic*) Bates of Newgate, 1665, 9, 19. Isabell Horner to Thomas Cockshot of Tadcaster, at Sherborne, 1668, 3, 10. John Horner of Tadcaster to Mary Pearson of Tiffenthwaite, 1675, 11, 30.

Burials: Isabell Horner, of Tadcaster, wife of John, died 1667, 1, 2; buried at Tadcaster. Catherin Horner of Wooldale, wife of William, died 1676, 11, 6; buried 1676, 11, 7. Bartholomew Horner of Leeds, died 1678, 6, 8; buried near Leeds (a cross entry calls him of Boorelaine, Leeds, and gives date of his death as 1678, 6, 28; perhaps father and child). Sarah Horner, of Tadcaster, wife of John, buried at York, 1673, 9, 24. Thomas Horner son of Bartholomew, died 1679, 1, 2, buried——Joseph Horner son of Bartholomew and Alice, of Leeds, died 1681, 2, 7; buried ——. (Friends Recds., Devonshire House). From the above, and other transcripts (from Public Record Office) in the hands of the compiler, we may construct the following pedigree:



I find nothing later regarding this family here. They removed to West Jersey about 1675. Considerable data concerning the ancestry of the Horners appears.

EARLY REVOLUTIONARY LETTERS OF PETER STRETCH, A PHILADELPHIA WHIG MERCHANT.

BY FRANCIS BAZLEY LEE,
Trenton, N. J.

In the docket book of Peter Stretch, some time merchant in Philadelphia during the opening of the Revolutionary War and at its close a Justice of the Peace in Burlington County, New Jersey, are to be found copies of a series of letters written to merchants in London and the West Indies. From these hitherto unpublished copies the following chronologically arranged extracts are presented, indicative not only of trade conditions in Philadelphia but of the strong personal sentiments of a Whig merchant.

Peter Stretch was a son of Thomas Stretch, first governor of the "Colony in Schuylkill," and his wife Mary Ann Robbins. Peter Stretch married in 1770 his kinswoman Sarah Howell, daughter of Samuel Howell, an eminent Philadelphia merchant. Early in 1776 and in 1778 Peter Stretch was directed by the Continental Congress to be a signer of bills of credit, and served as a member of one of Philadelphia's Whig light infantry companies. He was an object of Tory vengeance, his storehouse in Bordentown having been looted shortly before the battle of Monmouth. He found revenge in being one of those selected to bring Tories to justice, after Sir Henry Clinton's evacuation of Philadelphia in the early summer of 1778. The original letter-copy book is in the possession of a descendant living in Vincentown, Burlington Co., New Jersey.

FORESHADOWING REBELLION.

"June 24, 1774 (* * * * * *), As we are likely to have a Nonimportation agreement to Oppose the Ministerial Strides towards raising a revenue in America, which never will be Accomplish'd without actual rebellion

of the Collonies, I enclose an Order for Next Spring to be Ship'd as early as you please in the fall—on Board any Vessell—you ship your other friend's Goods for I dare say you will have Orders Similar with mine. Please to ship them as soon as Possible least they be Serv'd as the India Company's tea.

PETER STRETCH.

To Will[m] Neate Esq[r] Merch[t] London.
P. Nancy Cap[t] Johnston Via Bristol
Coppy P July Packett

A HINT FROM THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

"PHILAD[a] October 21[st] 1774

WILL[m] NEATE

SIR

I received your favor of 4[th] August advising me of the Arrival of the Molly, Cap[t] Johnston by whom I sent you Willing & Co Draft upon Bristol & there payable instead of this City which would be a Disadvantage to you. I gave as much for it as if it was payable in London & Bills upon London were not to be had at any rate & when Bills are not to be had upon London, those upon Bristol or Liverpool are better than Nothing. You likewise advise me of your intending to Compleat my Order as soon as Possible which will just be the plan for our Congress have hinted to the Dry Goods Mercht[s] that Goods Arriving here after the 1 Dec[r] will not be permitted to be landed so that few Spring Goods can be expected. It is expected that the Congress will break up before falconer Sails & indeed I believe they are waiting for the result of that August body for the Owners of M & E are so dilatory in loading her we tho't she woul'd have sail'd a week ago But John head says in about a week hence. in her you will get some more money from me if I have any luck. * * * * * * *

You[rs] &c

PETER STRETCH.

To WILL[m] NEATE ESQ
Merch[t] London
P Brittania Capt Vanhorn."

FOREIGN TRADE AND RECONCILIATION.

"PHILAD^{a} NOV^{r} 4th 1774.

WILLIAM NEATE,

SIR:—

This Order is Accompanied with the proceedings of the American Congress, respecting the Nonimportation of Goods from Great Brittain untill All our American Grievances are redres'd, which when you find accomplish'd please to execute this Order, if you have not Ship'p'd my Order you receiv'd Aug: 6th time enough to be here by Dec 1st.

If our Grieviances are Redres'd in time for our Spring & Summer Goods, please to send the following by the first Vessell that Sails from your port for this viz:— (Here follows a long list of articles suitable for the Philadelphia market.

"Please to endeavour to send the Cloths of the same Quality as Woods sends them to West."

(Another list of goods desired.)

"If the ministry should think proper to Disannul (with the Consent of Parliament) those Acts which Americans think so oppressive at a time when winter and fall Goods are exposed, please to let this be Complied with. (A third list of goods set forth.)

Your humble serv^{t}

PETER STRETCH.

P MARY & ELIZ: CAPT FALCONER."

THE SPIRIT OF AMERICANS.

PHILADELPHIA NOV^{r} 4. 1774.

WILL^{m} NEATE

SIR,

(* * * * *) I send you by Capt^{n} Falconer the printed resolutions of the Congress which will be religiously Observed by the People of America, for altho' there may

be some rascalls that would take the Advantage of the times yet the Vox Populi are the true Spirit of Liberty & that man's property would be destroy'd & perhaps his Life Sacrifiz'd into the Bargain if he Dar'd to Contradict the above Mentioned Resolutions of Congress.

You will find that all Goods imported from G. Brittain & Arriving here after Dec^{r} 1st & before Feb^{y} 1st are either to be stor'd at the risque of the importer or sold at Vendue, the proffitts (if any) Arising, to be sent to Boston to mantain their Poor And All Goods Arriving here after Feb^{y} 1st to be sent back at All events & not be permitted to be landed.

So that you are to govern Yourself Accordingly in the Complying with my Orders, you are not to Ship any Goods to this part of the World, untill all the revenue Laws are totally repeal'd so that if my Spring Order doth not arrive here untill after Dec^{r} 1st, I shall have nothing to do but Collect in my Debts as fast as possible and pay you off in Order to have an Anchor to windward against next importation.

Your humb^{l} Serv^{t}

PETER STRETCH.

"To Will^{m} Neate Esq
Merch^{t} London

P. Mary & Elizabeth, Capt Falconer
Sail^{d} from here Nov^{r} & left the Capes
Coppy with a 2nd Bill P. Lydia Capt^{n} Dean."

WHAT NEW YORK WHIGS DID.

(Probably written from Philadelphia.)

Feby 17. 1775

M^{r} William Neate
Good Sir:

(* * * * * *) The Disputes between Great Brittain & America engross the whole Conversation & the Spirit of the people is greatly Irritated by his Majesty's most

Gracious Speech from the throne, however it is my Opinion that the Americans will be Obstinate for even in New York where the Tories Swarm, the people sent off a Ship that Arrived there with Goods from Glascow, the Captn Applied to the Man of War for protection & he put forty hands on Board her to Cover her landing the Goods, but All wou'd not do she was Oblig'd to go to Jamaica with all her Loading. Spring Goods are very Scarce in this place. I expect to sell all mine very much to my Advantage as Goods when in Demand allways Command Cash. I won't sell a Single piece to my Grandfather unless I get the Chink down upon the Nail—

You may expect to hear from me soon & I remain

Your humble Servt

PETER STRETCH.

Enclosed a Bill £120 Stg Drawn by Thos popham on Arnold & Albert Nesbit for Sixty Days

To WILLIAM NEATE Esqr MERCHt London

per Unity Captn, Coppy P. Capt Greenway."

THE NEWS FROM LEXINGTON.

"PHILADa May 1st 1775

WILLm NEATE

GOOD SIR,

I have Just receiv'd your's P. Earl of Dunmore Via N. York enclosing my Account Curt which I have not as yet Attentively Examin'd as we are all in Confusion about a Battle that has been fought between the New England Men and the King's troops wherein the latter were worsted. We are all learning the new Exercise & to a man are determined to Oppose tyranny under any shape or Introduc'd by any power in the World, but the truth you will no doubt see in the public papers (* * * * * *)

* * * (End)

PETER STRETCH."

ORDERLY BOOK OF THE SECOND PENNSYLVANIA CONTINENTAL LINE, COL. HENRY BICKER.

At Valley Forge, March 29—May 27, 1778.

EDITED BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

(Concluded from page 253.)

HEAD QUARTERS May ye 18th, 1778 Valley Forge.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . . Patterson
Field Officers . Col. Cropper, Major Conwais
Brigade Major . . . . . Mervin
Inspector from Gen[l] Larnard's Brigade.

The Comm[dr]-in-Chief has the pleasure to inform the Army that the Honorable the Congress, have been pleased to come to the following Resolution:

In Congress May ye 15th, 1778—

Resolved unanimously, that all Military Officers Commis[d] by Congress, who now are or hereafter may be in the service of the United States and shall continue during the War, and shall not hold any office of profit, under these States or any of them, shall after the conclusion of the War, be intitled to receive annually for the term of seven years, if they live so long, one half of the present pay of such Officers; Provided that no Gen[l] Officers of the Cavalry, Artilery, or Infantry shall be intitled to receive more than the one half part of the pay of a Co[l] of such Corps Respectively, And provided that this resolution shall not extend to any Officers in the Service of the United States, unless he shall have taken the oath of allegance to and shall actually reside within some one of the United States;

Resolved unanimously, that every non-comms[d] Military Officer and soldier who have inlisted, or shall enlist

during the War, and shall continue therein to the end thereof, shall be entitled to receive the further reward, of eighty dollars, at the expiration of the War.

The whole Army are desired to prepair in the best manner possible, for an immediate and sudden movement.

B:—O:—

Adju[t] of the Day tomorrow from ye 7[th] Reg[t]

Detail.

	C:	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*		*C:*	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*
1[st] Reg[t]	1	2	1	16			0	0	0	0	4
2[nd] do	0	1	1	6	W:—C:—		0	0	0	1	1
7[th] do		1	1	9			0	0	0	0	2
10[th] do		1	1	7			0	0	0	0	2
	1	5	4	38			0.	0.	0.	1.	9

Head Quarters Valley Forge May 19[th], 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . . . Wayne
Field Officers . Co[l] Green [135] Lieut Co[l] Ballard [136]
Brigade Major . . . . . Minnes
Inspector from Gen[l] Pattersons Brigade.

The Commanding Officers of Reg[ts] are to make returns to the Quater Master Gen[l] of the number of tents absolutely wanting in each. For such men as cannot be accomidated concistant with their health, and comfert in Hutts, it will be relied upon these in return that none will make a larger demand than the real necessity of the Reg[ts] requires; the Quatermaster Gen[l] will make his issue upon these returns.

Field Officers for Detachment L[t] Co[l] Ball Major Gilman— The sub and Brigade Inspectors, Majors

[135] *John Green*, Capt. Major and Lieut. Colonel 1st Virginia; wounded at Mamaroneck, Oct., 1776; Colonel 10th Va.; transferred to 6th Va., 1778; retired Jany., 1783.

[136] *Robert Ballard*, Capt., Major and Lieut. Col. 1st Virginia; transferred to 4th Va., 1778, resigned July, 1779.

of Brigade, and Adjutants of the Army, to parade at the Baron's Quaters at 10 o'clock precisely tomorrow morning, When they will receive particular orders.

At a Gen[l] Court Martial Gen[l] Bowman president May the 13th, 1778, Jno Reynolds an Artificer in Major Rollards Corps, tryed for strikeing L[t] Hammet, found guilty of the charge and sentenced to receive 100 lashes; the Comm[dr]-in-Chief approves the sentence and orders it to be put in execution tomorrow morning at Guard mounting on the Grand Parade.

B:—O:—

Adj[t] of the Day from the 10[th] Reg[t]

	Guards.						*Detail.*				
	C:	*Sub:*	*S.*	*C.*	*P.*		*C:*	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P.*
1[st] Reg[t]	0	0	2	1	15		0	0	0	0	9
2[nd] do	0	1	1	1	6	W: C.	0	0	0	1	3
7[th] do	0	0	1	1	9		0	1	1	0	6
10[th] do	0	0	0	1	8		0	0	1	1	5

After Orders Valley Forge *May 19[th] 1778.*

Military Instructions for Officers of Guards. *1st.* When an officer arrives at the post he is to Relieve, The old Guard is already formed and present Arms at the Arrival of the New one, which forms itself oposite the Old Guard Imparts Instructions to the other he has Rec[d], then both officers Comm[d] shoulder fire locks. Both Guards face together to the right and upon the word March they Change their Ground Reciprocally,—

2dly. The Officers of the New Guard appoints as many men as there Centinals the Non Comms[d] Officers of the Old Guard and Another of the New one, Marching before those men Lead them to their Different posts. They begin by Reliving those before the Guard house, On their Drawing near to Each other the Old Centinal presents his Arms ye Non Comms[d] Officers of the New Guard Command present Arms, then Poise fire locks.

Which only Extends to the Centinal Relived, the Non Coms^{d} officer Commands March both Centinals Come near each other, the Old Imparts to the New one the orders he has Rec^{d} the New One takes the place of the old one; who Goes afterward into his Rank, the Non-Commis^{d} Officer Comm^{ds} front and both Centinals face to the Right about the Non Comms^{d} Officer then Comm^{d} shoulder and leads the men to relieve the other centinals in the same manner. In the mean while the officer of the New Guard Appoints the two other numbers for Each post. When the Non-Commis^{d} officers came back with the old Centinals, they lead them before the old Guard and Comm^{d} present Arms Poise fire lock March the soldier goes to the Rank and file, They Comm^{d} front shoulder fire lock.

3dly. The Old officer forms his Guard in the same order as at mounting. Wheels by the right or left. And leads his Guard with order into Camp.

4th. When the old officer leaves the place the New Guard presents Arms till the old one his filed off then Comm^{d} Shoulder Firelock and orders a Non Comm^{d} officer to write down the names of the soldiers of that Guard supposing the Guard to be Composed of an officer two Non-Commis'd and 25 Privates, this guard will have Eight Centinals to place which makes 3 Numbers for Each Centinal, so that each soldier has Eight—upon Centinal in the 24 he gets their Names wrote down in the following manner.

Before the Guard House 1 2 3

At the post A— 1 2 3

At the post B— 1 2 3

And the same for the other posts— which make the number of 24 men The 25th, remains for the service of the officer of the Guard.

5th. When an officer has a guard of 24 men; there are 8 of them Upon Centry & when ye other 8 is Reliving he has but ye 3^{d} part of his guard left under Arms with which he Must Defend his post in Case of an Ataak he Must therefore Remain under Arms until ye Centinals, Came back he then forms his Guard in 2 Ranks and Orders them to lay Down their Arms (N.B. This will be observed with a great Exactitude in the Night than in ye Day.)

6th. If A man Deserts off Guard, and the Officer is not acquainted with the Desertion before the first two houers are over, it is a sign that the has not formed his Guard; and must be Answerable for that Neglect of his Duty.

7th. In ye Night ye Officer is to send Each half hour a patrole of a Non-Comms^{d} officer and two privates in order to Visit the Centinals and examine whither they are strict on their Duty

8th. Every Guard must be under Arms at the Arrival or passing of any Gen^{l} officer, Field Officer of the Day, Or Inspector pay them the honours due to their Rank. And the officer gives an account of the Instructions he has rec^{d} when required by the said Gen^{l} Officer etc—

9th. During the night ye Guards are to pay no honours to any body except to the Gen^{l} officers and ye Officers of the Day Visiting the posts. At their arrival they must put themselves under Arms, the Centinal hinders the officer of the Day from coming near the Guard, till the Officer has sent to him a non-Commis^{d} Officer and two privates, in order to Examine him, and ask him for the Counter Sign, And haveing Reconitered him ye Officer causes the Gen^{l} Officer or Field Officer of the Day to come near him, asks him for the Parole & Gives him an account of the Guard.

10th. No officer is to pull off his clothes in the Night on pain of being tryed by a Court Martial.

11th. No officer is to absent himself from his Guard, under any pretence whatever beyond the Distance of 200 paces on pain of being tryed by a Court Martial.

12th. No Officer is to give leave to a soldier to go to Camp or in the Country under any pretence whatever. If it is to get provisions, he must send a Non Comms^{d} Officer and two or three Privates, with a note signed by his own hand, Certefying that they are going for provisions etc—

13th. After tatoo is beaten No Soldier is to Go 50 paces from the Guard & he who will be found at a greater distance shall be arrested and treated as a deserter.

14th. The Officer is to instruct his Centenals in what they are to observe at the Posts, as well by Night as by Day—

15th. Every Guard is to be found under Arms after their According to the new Regulations given out for the formation of the Troops—

16th. When an Officer or a Non Comms^{d} officer is relieved from his Guard, he is to conduct it back in the same order, to the Parade where he Rec^{d} them in one or two Platoons, etc. If his Guard be composed out of three Brigades he leads them to the Centre Brigade then Divides ye Men from Each Brigade Leaving Each Detachment to be Conducted by a Non Commis^{d} Officer, in Good order to their Different Battalions.

17th. If an Officer, who before he has arrived in Camp will Let his Guard go by themselves and straggle away without order, Shall be put Under an Arrest & tryed by a Court Martial.

Head Quarters Valley Forge May 20th 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . . Maxwell
Field Officers Col. Chambers, Major Winslow
Brigade Major . . . . . Clayburn
Inspector from Gen^{l} Weeden's Brigade.

B: Orders

Adj^{t} of the Day tomorrow from the 2^{d} Reg^{t}.

Detail.

Guards.	*C:*	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P:*
1st Reg^{t}			2	1	17
2nd do			1	1	6
7th do		1	1	1	10
10th do	1	0	1	1	9
	1	1	5	4	42

Head Quarters May y^{e} 20th, 1778. *After orders.* The same number of Officers and men to parade tomorrow Morning at Guard Mounting to Relieve the Comm^{d} at Radnor as was ordered the 19th Ins^{t}.

Head Quarters Valley Forge May y^{e} 21st, 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . . . Varnum
Field Officers . . L^{t} Co^{l} Reed Major Moore
Brigade Major . . . . . McCormick
Inspector from Gen^{l} Mulinbergs Brigade.

The Inspectors etc. will attend at the Baron Stuben's Quarters at y^{e} Hour appointed, in the orders of the 19th Ins^{t}. If there is any persons in the Army who understands making thin paper such as Bank Notes are struck upon they are desired to apply immediately to the Orderly Officer where they will be shown a sample of the paper. Officers commanding Reg^{ts} are to publish these in Regimental orders. Mr. Volles Adj^{t} of the 7th. Virginia Reg^{t} is appointed to do the duty of Brigade Major in Gen^{l} Woodford's Brigade till further Orders—

At a Gen^{l} Court Martial whereof Col. Bowman was president, May the 15th, 1778, Cap^{t} Cleaveland of Co^{l} Michael Jackson's Reg^{t} tryed for behaving in an unofficer-

like manner in refusing to do a Tour of Duty when duly notified, found not guilty of the charge exhibited against him and acquited with Honour. Altho' Cap^{t} Cleaveland ought not to have been warned for Duty when returned sick, yet the Gen^{l} cannot applau'^{d} the spirit which actuated him in refusing obedience of a positive Order & declining a Tour of Duty of such a kind, as might in all appearance have been easily performed by Cap^{t} Cleaveland in his circumstances. Cap^{t} Cleaveland is released from his arrest—At a Brigade Court Martial May the 18th 1778, L^{t} Co^{l} Cropper president, Cap^{t} Edward Hull[137] of the 15th Virginia Reg^{t} tryed for Gaming when he ought to have been on the parade the 12th Ins^{t} unanimously found Guilty of that part of the Charge exhibited against him relative to Gaming, but acquitted of non-attendance on the parade, and sentenced to be repremanded by the Commanding Officer of the Brigade, in presence of all the officers thereof—At the same Court Martial L^{t} Thos. Lewis,[138] of the S^{d} Reg^{t} tryed upon a similar charge, found Guilty and sentenced the same as Cap^{t} Hull—The Commander-in-Chief though very unwilling to descent from the judgment of the Court Martial is obliged utterly to disapprove those sentences, the punishment being in his opinion utterly inadiquate to the offence; A practice so pernicious in itself as that of Gaming, so prejudicial to good order and Military Discipline, so contrary to positive and repeated orders, carried to so enormous a hight as it appears, and aggravated certainty in the Case of Lieu^{t} Lewis by an additional offence of no trifeling Military consequence—Absence from parade demanded a much severer pennalty than a simple reprimand. Cap^{t} Hull and Lieu^{t} Lewis is to be released from their arrest.

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[137] *Edwin Hull;* retired Sept. 14, 1778.

[138] Retired Feby., 1781. Entered regular army U. S. as Capt. of Infantry, 1792; resigned March, 1801.

B—O—

Adj^{t} of the Day from the 1st Reg^{t}.

	Guard.					*Detail.* three Days Comm'd				
	C.	*Sub.*	*S.*	*C.*	*P.*	*C.*	*Sub.*	*S.*	*C.*	*P.*
1st Reg^{t}	0	0	1	1	17	0	0	0	1	2
2nd do	0	1	1	1	7					1
7th do	0	0	1	1	10					2
10th do	0	0	2	1	10					2
	0.	1.	5.	4.	44.				1.	7.

Head Quarters Valley Forge May 22^{d}, 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . . . Scott
Field Officers . . Co^{l} Bremer and Hopkins[139]
Brigade Major . . . . . Berryanne [?]
Inspector from late Conways Brigade.

The Auditors office is Removed to James Cloids within one mile and ½ of the Paymaster Gen^{l}

At a Gen^{l} Court Martial May ye 16th /78, Col. Bowman president, Lt Addison of the German Batt. tryed for behaving in a manner unbecoming a gentleman and an officer, in abusing Col Nixon's family, unanimously found Guilty of the charge exhibited against him, being a breach of the 21st Article 14th Sect. of the Articles of War, and sentenced to be discharged the Service. The Commander-in-Chief approves the sentence and orders it to take place immediately.

At a Brigade Court Martial, May ye 18th /78, Major Wall president; L^{t} Marks of the 11th Virginia Reg^{t} tryed for not attending the parade on the 18th ins^{t} and unanimously acquitted with Honour; Likewise L^{t} William

[139] *Samuel Hopkins*, Capt. and Major 6th Virginia, wounded at Germantown, Lieut. Col. 14 Va., taken prisoner at Charleston, S. C., exchanged and transferred to 1st Va. 1781. Died Oct., 1819.

Powell tryed upon the same charge, and acquitted in like manner.

The Gen[l] observes that sickness or indisposition is certainly a sufficient excuse for not attending the parade, but it ought to be an established Rule, to signify it either personally or in writing through the Adj[t] to the comm[dg] officer of the Reg[t] to which the Officer concerned shall belong: these Gentlemen in not doing this were deficient in the line of regularity and propriety. Hereafter this excuse shall not be admitted unless this Rule shall be observed, unless where any very particular circumstances renders it impracticable, which can realy happen.

B:—O:—

Adj[t] of the Day tomorrow from the 7[th] Reg[t].

	C:	*Sub:*	*S:*	*C:*	*P.*	*Fatigue*	
1[st] Reg[t]	0	0	2	1	18	2[d] Reg[t]	*P.*
2[nd] do			1	1	7		6
7[th] do		1	1	1	10		
10[th] do			1	1	10		
	1:	5:	4:		45		

May the 20, 1778.

B:—O:—

The Brigade Court Martial is adjourned till tomorrow at 10 O'Clock, Col Chambers is appointed president vice Major Grier, who is indisposed. The members will attend at the President's Quarters, at the time appointed.

By order of W[m] Irvine Co[l] Comman[d]: It is with pain the Co[l] is obliged to enjoin officers to be more punctual in not only seeing that their men attend the parade, but also attend themselves. It is expected that Commanders of Regts. will be very premptory in their several Corps, with respect to the above Regulations and likewise, that the number of Hutts in front of the line be reduced.

No apology will be admitted on account of sick tents for that purpose being now provided.

WILLIAM IRWIN Col Commdt.

Division Order Camp near Valley Forge May 23, 1778.

The whole Division to parade tomorrow afternoon at 5 o'Clock in the best order possible. It is expected that all officers off duty will attend.

By order of GENl WAYNE.

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE May 23d, 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . . Patterson.
Field Officers Col Deten & Lt Col Shearman [140]
Brigade Major . . . . . Stag [141]
Inspector from Genl Huntingtons Brigade.

Till some further arrangement of the Army is made, Major Genl Lee is to take charge of the Division lately commanded by Major Genl Greene, and in case of action or any Genl move of the Army, the then oldest Major Genls present fit for duty are to command the two wings and second line according to seniority. The commdg officers of Regts and Corps will immediately give orders upon the Commissary of Military Stores, for all the arms and accoutrements wanting to compleat their Men the Qr. Masters of Brigades will also make out returns and apply for orders for Ammunition to compleat each man to 40 Rounds and 2 flints.

All Officers are called upon to see that their men's arms and accoutrements are put in the best order possible: they will likewise take particular care that their men have Wooden Drivers fix'd in their pieces at the hours of exercise to prevent any unnecessary waste of Flints. No man to be absent from Camp on any pretence whatever, but be in actual readiness to march at a moments warning.

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[140] *Isaac Sherman*, Lieut. Col. 2d Conn. 1777; 8th Conn. 1779; Retired Jany., 1783; died Feb. 6, 1819.

[141] *John Stagg*, 2d Lieut. Malcom's Regt. 1777; Brig. Major Conway's Brigade 1778; retired Jany., 1781; died Dec., 1803.

B—O—

Adj[t] of the Day tomorrow from the 10[th] Reg[t].

Detail

	C.	*Sub.*	*S.*	*C.*	*P.*		*Sub.*	*S.*	*C.*	*P.*	*Sub.*	*S.*	*C.*	*P.*
1[st] Reg[t]		1	1	1	17				3					13
2[nd] do			1	1	6	W.C.			1	*F*				5
7[th] do			1	1	12				2			1	10	
10[th] do			2	1	10			1	1			1	8	

Brigade after Orders May 23rd, 1778.

The Brigade Qr. Masters will deliver the arms and accoutrements drawn this day at Gen[l] Wayne's Qrs. to the several Reg[ts] agreeable to the returns made to him, as far as they will go, immediatly after exercise and return the arms not fit for service as soon as possible to the Commissary Gen[l] of Military Stores—If after this distribution is made any Bayonet Belts or arms are wanting to compleat, the commanders of Reg[ts] will make immediate returns.

Head Quarters Valley Forge May 24[th], 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . . . Wayne
Field Officers . . Col. Patten Major Summers
Brigade Major . . . . . Bannister
Inspector from Gen[l] Varnum's Brigade.

The Gen[l] Court Martial whereof Col. Bowman was president is dissolved and another ordered to sit tomorrow morning at 9 o'Clock to try all prisoners that shall be brought before them. Col. Chambers will preside. each Brigade will give a Cap[t] to the Court; all persons concerned to attend.

At a Brigade Court Martial May the 22[nd] 1778, L[t] Co[l] Cropper president, L[t] Davis[142] of the 11[th] Virginia Reg[t], tryed for encouraging a soldier to stay away from his Reg[t], for refusing when the soldier was sent for by a Guard to let him go to his Reg[t] and for speaking dis-

[142] *Thomas Davis* of Virginia, died probably in 1778.

respectfully of the officer who sent a Guard for the soldier a second time—Upon mature deliberation, the Court are of opinion, that he is not guilty of speaking disrespectfully of the officer who sent a Guard for the soldier, tho of opinion his detaining the soldier was unwarrentable, but considering that his error seems to have arose from what he thought was doing his duty Lieu[t] Davis is released from his arrest—

B: O:

A Cap[t] from the 1st Regt to attend the Gen[l] Court Martial tomorrow morning at 9 o'Clock, at the usual place. Co[l] Hubley is appointed president of the Brigade Court Martial in the room of Co[l] Chambers, to sit tomorrow at 9 o'Clock a.m. the members will attend the presidents Quarters—

Adj[t] of the Day from the 2[d] Reg[t].

Detail.

	C:	*Sub.*	*S.*	*C.*	*P*		*P*		*S.*	*C.*	*P*
1st Regt	0	0	1	1	17		3				13
2nd do		0	1	1	7	3 Days	1	*Fitague*			5
7th do		0	1	1	11		2			1	10
10th do		1	2	1	11		2				8
		1	5	4	46		8		1		36

Head Quarters Valley Forge May 25th 1778

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . . Mulenberg
Field Officers . . Col. Swift Lt. Col. Hubley
Brigade Major . . . . . Haskill
Inspector from Gen[l] McIntosh.

The Regiment at Surgeons will apply to the Flying Hospital Store for rags lard and Sulphur; they are to make their returns more punctual on Mondays. Several Guns, packs and cartridge boxes belonging to some soldier in the Army are left at the Orderly Office—The Muster-master Genl and Commissary of Prisoners have removed their Quaters to Mr. Evan's house, half a mile

north of Sullivan's Bridge by Perkiomy Creek. The Regimental Paymasters are to give in their abstracts for the month of April for examination.

At a Genl. Court Martial Col. Febiger president, Lt. Adams[143] of the 10th Pennsa. Regt tryed for ungentlemanlike behaviour in propogating a report that an officer in the Regt had behaved cowardly in the action at Germantown, and when desired by Col. Hubley to name the officer, answered in an unbecoming manner; unanimously found Guilty of the charge exhibited against him, being a breach of the 21st Article 14th Sect of the Articles of War, and sentenced to be discharged the service. The Commander-in-Chief approves of the sentence and orders it to take place immediately.

B: O: May ye 25th, 1778.

The Col. hopes that the commanding officers of Regts has paid particular attention to the Genl Orders of the 23 Inst with respect to applying for arms and accoutrements to compleat their men—

Adjt of the Day from the 1st Regt.

	Detail-Guards				*Fatigue.*		
	Sub.	*S.*	*C.*	*P.*	*Sub.*	*S.*	*P.*
1st Regt		2	1	17			13
2nd do		1	1	7			5
7th do	1	1	1	12		1	10
10th do		1	1	10	1	0	8

Head Quarters Valley Forge May 26th, 1778.

Brigadier for tomorrow . . . . . Poor

Field Officers, Col. Grayson[144], Lt. Col. Wissingfelt.

Brigade Major . . . . . Learnard

Inspector from Genl Woodford's Brigade.

For Detachment Major Gaskin.

[143] *Francis Adams.*

[144] *Col. William Grayson*, formerly on Washington's staff. Retired, 1779. Commissioner Board of War, resigned 1781; died March, 1790.

The Commander-in-Chief perceiving that the Regimental returns Materially Differ in the number of the sick absent from the Hospital Reports, notwithstanding these were lodged with the Adj^{t} Gen^{l} that the regimental returns might be rectifyed & adjusted by them calls upon the commanding officers of the Reg^{ts} to make returns tomorrow to the Adj^{t} Gen^{l} specifying the names of all their sick absent, places where they are, and the time they were sent to them; that the difference above mentioned may be satisfactorily accounted for. In doing this, the strictest regard is to be paid to the Hospital Reports.

The Independant Corps commanded by Cap^{t} Sillen are immediately to bury the offal and carrion near the Black Bull, the Commissary Gen^{l} of the Staff will in future apply to the commanding officer of that Corps for a party to bury any offal that may be near his stall— A sub., serj^{t} corp^{l} & eight men with the Commissary from each brigade, are to be sent immediatly into vicinity of their respective Brigades to seize the Liquors they may find in the unlicenced tipling houses; the Commissarys will give recpts for the liquor they may seize and notefy the inhabitants or persons living in the vicinity of the Camp, that unconditional seizure shall be made of all Liqurs they shall presume to sell in future—

A Flag goes into Philadelphia tomorrow—

B: O:

Adj^{t} of the Day tomorrow from the 7th Reg^{t}.

Detail of Guard.

	C.	*Sub.*	*S.*	*C.*	*P.*		*C.*	*Sub.*	*S.*	*C.*	*P.*
1st Reg^{t}		1	1	1	17				1	1	15
2nd do			1	1	7	WC			0	1	5
7th do			1	1	11		1	1	0	0	11
10th do			2	1	11			1	0	0	11
	1		5	4	46		1	2	1	2	42

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE May 27th 1778.
Brigadier for tomorrow . . . . . Varnum
Field Officers Lt. Col. Reed, Major Murry.
Brigade Major . . . . . Fynacke
Inspector from Gen[l] —s Brigade

The commanding officers of Reg[ts] are to make returns on Fryday next of the arms that were in possession of their respective Corps the 1st of Nov. last, of those they have since delivered in, of those they have since drawn, and of those they have now actually in possession. It is expected that they always have exact accounts of arms, clothing, Camp utensils &c. furnished to their men as they must be responsible for their due application—

Major Gen[l] Miflin having been permitted by Congress to report to, and serve in this Army, he is to take the command of the Division late Lincoln's. The field officers of Regts. who have drawn money from any of the publick offices for Recruiting their respective Corps, are desired as soon as possible to furnish the Auditors of the Army with lists of money advanced by them to their officers for that service. Capt. Furbiddle is appointed aid de camp to Major Gen[l] Lee, till further orders, and is to be respected accordingly. Officers to see that the Mud plastering about the Hutts be removed, and every method taken to render them as airy as possible; they will also have the powder of a Musquet Cartridge Burnt in each Hutt daily to purify the air, or a little Tar if it can be procured. The Commissary of Military Stores will provide blank Cartridges for ye purpose.

B: O:

The Col. wishes the officers to read the orders of the 23d instant, and hopes they will by future punctual attention at parade, prevent his taking such measures tho exceedingly disagreeable to him, as his indispensable duty requires. The Officers of the 2d and 10th were particularly reported this morning as being chiefly absent.

The Commanders of Reg^{ts} will order Reg^{t} Court Martials to try such prisoners as are in the Brigade Guard, who do not come under the Cognisance of a Brigade Court Martial.

Proceeding of the Brigade Court Martial whereof Co^{l} Miller was president, is to be put in execution this afternoon.

Detail Guard.

	C.	*Sub.*	*S.*	*C.*	*P*		*C.*	*Sub.*	*S.*	*C.*	*P.*
1st Reg^{t}		0	2	1	17		0	0	0	0	4
2nd do		0	1	1	7	*3 Days G^{d}*		1	0	0	2
7th do		0	1	1	12				1	0	3
10th do		0	1	2	10		0	0	0	1	2
			5.	5.	46.			1.	1.	1.	11.

Adj^{t} of the Day tomorrow from the 10th Reg^{t}.

[Colonel Henry Bicker.—Henry Bicker, son of Victor Bicker and Johanna Krigier, was baptized July 28, 1723. (See Collections of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, vol. 2, page 443.) He married Sophia Hyer Dec. 11, 1745. (See Collections of N. Y. Gen. & Biog. Society, vol. 1, page 174.) He was buried Sept. 7, 1801. (See Record of burials in the Dutch Church, New York, in Holland Society Year Book, 1899, page 145.) Colonel Bicker had several sons and one daughter. His son Henry was born about 1749, was a Captain in the Revolution, and a charter member in the Society of the Cincinnati in Pennsylvania. The facsimile of his autograph is among those given, vol. 11, ser. 2, of the Pennsylvania Archives.]

NOTES OF A VISIT TO PHILADELPHIA, MADE BY A MORAVIAN SISTER IN 1810.

CONTRIBUTED BY A. R. BECK.

[These notes, written by "Sister" Catherine Fritsch, who with "Sister" Renata Opitz, filled official positions in the "Sisters' House" of the Moravian town of Lititz, Lancaster County, Penna., have been translated by Mr. A. R. Beck, a well-known local antiquarian, from the original Mss. in German. The other members of the party were friends and also residents of the town.]

When Renata and I, dressed for travelling, came out of the Sisters' House, at 4 o'clock in the morning of May 29th., 1810, the robins in the square were singing gaily—happy, as we were, too. Almost at the same moment Christel's [private] stage drove up to our porch with the rest of our party inside; namely, Christian Blickensderfer and his wife Barbara, Polly Blickensderfer, "Mother" Steinman, "Mother" Muecke, Magdalene Goettman, Renata Opitz, and myself, Katy Fritsch.

In high spirits we rode away and down through the town. A few miles below Lititz we saw a house where under one roof were the family, a weaver's shop, and the cow's stable: what a sight that interior must be! At six o'clock we sang a few verses with an accompaniment of trombones—Polly B. and her father having a cunning knack of imitating those instruments by putting a leaf between their lips.

At 7 o'clock we held in sweet remembrance our dear ones at home, wondering what they might be doing at that moment. In the meantime I had my quiet enjoyment in observing the growing corn and wheat, and in the delicious perfume that came up from the lovely clover fields.

In Henry Carpenter's woods we saw the effect of last year's dreadful storm; scores of mighty oak and hickory trees lay on the ground, lengthwise and crossways, like

so many children's jackstraws. Men were busily engaged in chopping up the wood.

At the sign of the *Farmer President,* our faithful horses were fed for the first time, and we entered the tavern to recover somewhat from the heat and dust.

Now our way led on the Newport Road. On the Pequea creek we hailed Christel Hess, who was standing before his mill; and had his jolly greeting in return. Ten wagons stood there to be loaded with flour for the city. Polly sat most of the time on the driver's seat with her father—the two making a charming picture—while he informed her concerning the country we were passing through and its farms, with good advice no doubt, on other subjects; so that I leaned forward from my seat and said to her, "Listen, child, to what your father tells you!" while "Mama" B's eyes beamed affectionately on father and daughter.

Now we came to a succession of high and steep hills, and so Polly B. and Magdalene G., also "Mother" Muecke, alighted to ease the load by walking, but the girls' evident expectation of having a good run and romp was thwarted by the deep dust and great heat of the day, and "Mother" Muecke could go but a short way. I was heartily sorry that because of a swollen foot I could not walk with them.

A mile from Buckley's tavern we met a stage in which there sat a lady and her children. Of all the sour, discontented faces hers was the most so that we had ever seen; but we couldn't imagine what was the cause of it.

We had driven a short distance farther when a horseman, at full gallop, came up behind us, and then another one from the opposite direction, both stopping to talk excitedly together. Christel asked them what was the matter, and we learned that a negro had stolen from Buckley's tavern a trunk filled with store goods, and that six men were scouring the neighborhood to try to catch him.

At Buckley's, at 10 o'clock, we fed our horses again and ate our dinner, of our own provisions, in the stage under a tree. Then we proceeded on our journey without having heard anything more of the negro; only we were troubled about the affair, and I advised those sitting in the hinder part of the stage to look out back of it sometimes and make sure that our trunk was not also stolen; for it contained Polly's and Renata's and my own travelling money. "Oh, woe for us," I said softly into Polly's ear, "if our Mammon would be stolen, then how should we get along in the city without it." On the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike we had travelling company in abundance; many stages and chairs; some of them carrying people of our acquaintance from Lancaster—were continually meeting or passing us. In one conveyance we observed Suss. Meyer, from our neighborhood, who had been a pupil at our Boarding school.

At 3 p.m. Polly played upon her leaf "Now let us praise the Lord," and Christel said he supposed that was instead of our usual afternoon coffee, for which, no doubt, the good man was longing. We, however, did not miss it. "Mama" B. slept soundly—awakened only by our hearty laughter—and "Mother" Muecke nodded also occasionally; but the first of us to drop asleep was always Magdalene Goettman.

At the toll-gates their Keepers were usually busily engaged in taking the toll, for sometimes three or four conveyances stood in waiting. Some of the gate-keepers kept tally on a slate of the money they took in.

At 6 p.m. we arrived in Dowingtown, where, with Mr. Downing, we were to stay all night. We enjoyed a good supper in the company of a friendly gentleman and his wife, who were on their way to Baltimore, and then went betimes to bed, six of us in one apartment where there were three beds, and "Father" and "Mother" B. in another room.

May 30, at 4 o'clock we were aroused to continue our

journey. I had not slept for several hours because of the pain in my foot, and I could not put on my shoe; but after "Mama" B. had treated the swelling with an ointment I was able to take my place in the stage, with the oats-sack doing service both as shoe and pillow for the foot. We drove off so silently that you could not have believed there were human beings in the stage. I looked over the company, sometimes, expecting to find every one asleep, yet most of the eyes were open—but all were quite still. "The trouble is," said Christel, breaking the dead silence, "we feel the need of our coffee; it's usually the case that people won't talk much before they've had their breakfast." Coming so early to a toll-gate we had to wait until the sleepy Keeper, rubbing his eyes, came out for our toll. Generally, these gate-keepers were taciturn, sour-looking men. Indeed, they seemed to me to resemble each other so much that I almost believed them to be of one family—sons of one father. Had I been Henrietta Byron I might have made a comical picture of a typical gate-keeper. At one gate where the man was absent, two rosy girls took the toll and greeted us in the friendliest way.

At eight o'clock we came to Carl Fahnestock's, where we ordered breakfast, but had to wait patiently for it as the passengers of the Post stage must first be served. Then all fell to as hungry people will—all but myself, for what with the heat of yesterday, and the frequent changes of drinking water I was not feeling well.

As we left this inn we saw that a threatening thunderstorm was gathering in the west, causing us much anxiety, greatly as we needed rain. At 10 o'clock the storm passed over us, leaving only a slight sprinkle of rain.

The nearer our approach to the city, the greater the number of conveyances of all kinds, and consequently the deeper the dust, which covered us from head to foot and even filled our mouths; so that when "Mama" B. handed around biscuits they served only to push the dirt

farther down our throats. We could not see objects twenty feet ahead of us; and the poor horses—they must have suffered, too! Once, while Christel was watering them, a man asked him whether we were going to "Meeting." He must have thought that we resembled devout country Quakers. Now thought I, to myself, were we Quakers, indeed, which one of us would this man have thought likely to be moved by the Spirit in meeting?—then I hit upon "Mother" Steinman, with her sweet pious face.

About 3 o'clock we fed the horses for the last time at Miller's tavern, previously driving into the shade of a large tree at the edge of the woods, where our party had dinner of our own provisions; but, as the very odor of the eatables was sickening to me, I limped about in the woods, enjoying as much as I might its pleasant solitude.

Continuing our journey, we allowed a Lancaster stage to pass us, and then followed it, taking a by-way that led through a beautiful cedar avenue at whose outlet a never-to-be-forgotten view burst upon us; for there, not far away—O, happy surprise—lay the splendid city of Philadelphia! On the hither side of the Schuylkill the Lancaster passengers and we, too, alighted at a tavern, they ordering wine, and we to dust ourselves thoroughly and remove the heavy veils that completely covered our bonnets; for we did not wish to present too ludicrous an appearance on entering the city. This house stood in the midst of a charming park of magnificent trees and shrubbery, with here and there rustic benches and many ornamental summer houses, of which, in the short time we were there, I counted up to twelve. We crossed the Schuylkill on the floating-bridge, a contrivance which consists of large trees placed in the water crosswise and chained together, with beams lengthways, and then boards, on top of them—the sides being guarded by railing. This apparently precarious way of crossing naturally made us apprehensive for our safety, especially as our

heavily laden stage sometimes caused the bridge to sink slightly under the water; but Christel said that there was no danger to be feared, hundreds of vehicles of all kinds crossing every day. On the other side of the river we passed a high hill which had been cut away down to the road, its sheer sides showing countless holes, the homes of thousands of bank swallows. How wisely, thought I, God cares for even the humblest of His creatures; in this great city they would probably be in constant danger of pursuit.

Between three and four o'clock we arrived safely at Mr. Steinman's house, where we received a hearty welcome. Mrs. S. wished us all to stay with them, but that was not our intention; so, thanking her, and leaving behind as their guests "Mother" Steinman and Magdalene Goettmann, we drove on through several streets to Mr. Beutelman's inn [probably the old "Rotterdam Inn," on Third Street above Race]. The landlord received us quite cordially, recognizing directly Christel and Barbara, who had put up there on a previous visit; and Mrs. Beutelman very politely took us to the rooms we were to occupy.

After we had rested awhile, "Mama" B. proposed a walk to the river, which all of us, but Polly, were agreed to take, my only worry about it being how was I to get on my shoe? "Ach," said "Mama" B., "just stick your toes into it and *schlap* along as best you can!" Standing upon the wharf, every thing was new and interesting to me; and what a contrast it was to Renata's and my life in a Sister's House! There, all serene, sweet and neat; here, noise, hurry and confusion, with ever the pervasive smell of tar and tropical fruit. Nevertheless we enjoyed every step of our way through the busy throng, and kept our wondering eyes wide open. O, the beautiful Delaware! and the multitude of ships lining the wharves up and down as far as we could see!—some of them so large that their bowsprits projecting at an angle over the street

extended nearly to the upper windows of the opposite warehouses. As we stood looking at one grand vessel Christel asked and received permission to take us on board of it. To get there we had to walk up a slanting board leading from the wharf, and then make a deep step down upon the deck, all of which progress was certainly no comfort to my poor foot. The captain kindly showed us about the ship and took us down into the cabin, I limping after the rest with only my toes in the fore part of my shoe. In this cosy room—so neat and clean—we rested awhile. "Mama" B., her face beaming with satisfaction, appealed to us often with "Isn't this fine" and we readily answered "Ja wohl!" We thanked the captain for his attentions to us, left the deck, and walked up the wharves, looking at the different figure-heads on the ships—some of them were only busts—some in full length; and one of the latter—a beautiful Venus—we especially admired. [The handiwork of William Rush.]

Having come back to the inn, we told Polly of all that we had seen and then went in to supper. Several gentlemen who boarded at the inn sat down with us at table. They eyed us narrowly at first—perhaps they had never seen caps like ours; but after I had cast aside my bashfulness in their presence, and they had put me at my ease, I found them to be very agreeable company. The whole scene at supper had for me its humorous side, but as I am not Henrietta Byron I may not attempt its description. After supper we sat in comfortable arm chairs on the front porch, observing the "wirr-warr" of the people on the street. This I enjoyed in a way, though it was enough to make one giddy to look at the restless throngs of passers. Mr. Beutelman, sitting beside Renata, engaged her in religious discourse; and, funny enough, called her always, "Mutter."

After so full a day we, of course, slept soundly that night, yet we were not displeased to be awakened by a fine band that was serenading somebody—though hardly

us. "Mother" Muecke and Polly arose the better to hear it, for, as our room was in the rear of the inn, the music was somewhat indistinct.

May 31. At an early hour, under the guidance of "Mama" B., we took a walk to the market. The good soul kept saying continually, "Do you really see every thing?" to which I always answered "Yes"; though I should have preferred to pass as quickly as possible through that dense crowd. At breakfast we remembered that this was Ascension Day, and thought of how it would be celebrated by our friends in Lititz. First, then, we went to Mr. Steinman's house, where we found "Mother" Steinman and Magdalene Goettman well and happy. Here we concluded to go to some church this morning, but we knew not yet to which one. In the meantime, pending decision, Christel said, "Let us go down again to the wharf." This was unanimously agreed to, and Mr. and Mrs. Steinman went with us, much to our advantage. From one majestic three-master I could hardly take my eyes; for high up on it was floating our beautiful American flag! Here was the same confusion and avoiding of carts and drays as on yesterday, and not a sign evident of its being Ascension Day.

Coming to another large, tastefully painted vessel, the captain of it invited us to come on board, and having placed the gang-plank in position, he led me kindly by the hand up to the deck: certainly a very mannerly man! Among other places he showed us his berth, saying, "That's a rather small bed for a large man like me to sleep in, isn't it?" It was hardly more than a narrow shelf on the side of the stateroom, and so low that I do not see how he could sleep there, even if he contrived to get into it. Upon leaving him we bowed uncommonly low—he was such a true gentleman!

We visited on still another ship—this one almost ready to sail. We sat a good while in the cabin enjoying the delightful breeze that came in at the open window be-

hind me from the water, and conversing with the very talkative captain, a German. "Mama" B. asked him whether he had a wife; "Yes," he answered, "I must always leave her behind!" "Alas," said I, "in what anxiety, in what fear of frightful peril, must this poor woman live!" and then for the first time since leaving home I shed my "philosophic aspect," and tears of pity filled my eyes; partly, too, from the thought, what if I had to leave thee, O beloved America! "Yes," says "Mama" B., "I can sympathize with the captain's wife. O, what a worry I am in when Christel is away, out late in the night, perhaps, with his team, in every kind of danger." "But that is different," I told her, "for he is after all on dry land." Returned to the deck, Christel talked to an intelligent sailor who was engaged in doing some special painting, and who was so given to gesticulation that the pencil-brush flew out of his hand and into the water; at which mishap he instantly sprung into the shrouds, went down the side of the vessel with the agility of a cat, and reaching out from a boat, recovered it. "To be a sailor," said Christel, "one must know how to climb!" Before we left this vessel Christel asked for a bit of ship's rope as a memento of our visit. Then we bade our good captain farewell, wishing him good fortune and every blessing. Thence we took our way to the end of the pier, where we lingered long, watching the play of the fishes [sturgeon] as they jumped out of their element high into the air. But the strong breeze off the water seemed to be so eager to run away with our bonnets that we were forced, at last, to leave the place.

Having taken to the streets again we now stood before the city's chief bank, uncertain whom to ask for permission to enter it, when out came the president or chief director with his "powdered head," almost running, and courteously invited us to enter. Whether he thought that we were bringing him money, I don't know. Within an enclosure the clerks were counting and then weighing

a large amount of specie—several chests full of it—that had just come in. The building is magnificent, and we should have liked to go to the top of it, where a fine view of the city is had, "Mama" B. tells us; but the wind is too high for us to attempt that. Behind the bank there was a garden with the most beautiful flowers growing in it: this, however, was fenced up, so we saw it only from the outside. Now it was time to go to the Baptist church, where we had decided to attend divine service. It was in Second Street, below Mulberry. We passed through an archway leading to it. [Fromberger's Court, now LaGrange Place.] In the court before the church a considerable number of people were waiting, because the doors were not yet open. As usual, we attracted their notice—perhaps remark. Bold boys and girls were attempting to climb in at the window—some scrambling through them; surely, thought I, the young people, here, must be ardent church-goers! Tired of waiting we concluded to leave and go elsewhere. As we approached the outlet of the archway we were astonished to see Second Street as one mass of people; while from each window of every story of the opposite houses hung four or five heads. We asked what all this meant: a funeral procession we were told. Through a momentary gap in the crowd I caught glimpses of several individuals in great pomp, holding drawn swords; surely, thought I, this funeral must be that of some distinguished citizen who had served the State in war. Mr. Steinman, who had left us at the bank, and now had been looking for us, beckoned to us from a porch at the corner of the archway to come to him, which our party did; but "Mama" B., and I could find no room there, and so we were forced to remain in the press, standing directly under the arch. Suddenly a constable rushed from the street to the sidewalk shouting excitedly, "Clear the way there—clear the way!" The crowd scattered right and left and there was no way to escape for "Mama" B. and me but to flee

precipitately into the archway, and there—finding the head of the procession to be close upon our heels—placed ourselves against the adjoining brick wall, where we stood bolt upright, like two marble statues, as the funeral procession passed, almost touching us. It was composed entirely of Freemasons. First came the Philadelphia Grand Lodge—its most exalted rulers leading, according to their office and rank; then its members in full regalia, walking two abreast and carrying various symbols of their order—such as swords, silver trowels, chisels, carpenter's squares, etc.: all presenting a magnificent spectacle. Two of them carried tall, highly lacquered candlesticks; some held aloft white staffs from which waved black crape. Then came the carriers with the corpse of Mr. William Ball, [Past Grand Master] followed by Doctor Rogers and another Baptist clergyman [Rev. Dr. Staughton], whose name I have forgotten. Next in order were various lodges, as I could tell by the different numbers on their aprons. Before each lodge was borne an open Bible upon a white cloth, and each member held in his right hand a parchment roll. The aprons were exquisitely designed and painted, or embroidered, and contributed largely to make the whole display one of dazzling beauty. A few men in the rear wearing only sheepskin aprons, I supposed to be gravediggers attending to fill up the grave. But what pleased me above all else was the sweet music of the band—so soft, so soothing was the dirge they played that it filled my eyes with tears. Finally, after the Freemasons, came the mourners, and then the people streamed through the archway in wildest disorder, causing the constable so completely to lose his head that he bullied even us, poor statues, whose only sin, had he known it, was our want of strength to push the brick wall farther back!

We did not care to go into the church for the service, which, after all, was not for Ascension Day as we had expected it to be; so we returned to our inn, glad to see

again the familiar faces of our friends. All agreed that the procession we had come upon so unexpectedly was well worth seeing, and that the best part of it was the beautiful music. Of course, "Mama" B. and I—"the most inquisitive ones"—as Polly was pleased to call us—came in for our share of good-natured raillery, which we met by asking them how would they have fancied being browbeaten by a blustering "constable." The city people, by the way, didn't seem to mind him much; we, however, were not accustomed to such treatment.

From there we went to Mr. Steinman's home, where hardly had we arrived before Polly and Magdalene turned upon me—rather too earnestly—crying "*Now write!*—if you don't you'll forget everything you have seen!" I tell them by no means shall I forget, and even if I should they would be here to refresh my memory; but nothing I could say would excuse me—write I must. Pen and ink procured, I filled a page, and then these bothersome girls—*they* were now "the inquisitive ones"—persisted in seeing what I had written; and Polly, seizing my diary, read it aloud, drawling the words from here to Lititz, and finally remarking, in a tone of affected gravity, "*A mass of misstatement from beginning to end!*" See, now what I get for being the faithful chronicler of this trip! Thus engaged in merry chat and resting—not to forget the good coffee Mrs. Steinman made for us—we passed the afternoon.

On our way to the inn we visited a German woman whom we had met previously on the wharf peddling candies from a basket. She was very talkative; had been in this country five years; her house was neat and clean. We bought mint cakes from her, "Mother" Muecke buying goodies for her children and grandchildren at home.

In the evening we sat again on the front porch until it was dark and then "Mama" B. proposed that we take a walk so as to see the grand illumination made by the long rows of street lamps, and it was certainly a splendid

sight. The sidewalks were full of gay people; most Philadelphians, it seems, choose the night time for promenading. On Market Street, we stood some time before the Wax-works, listening to the hand-organ; but as the place appeared to be crowded then, we postponed our visit to some other time.

Friday, June 1. At eight o'clock we started on a long walk to Centre Square [Broad and Market Streets] to see the Water-works. Mr. Steinman and his little daughter went with us. This delightful place with its fine trees—all Lombardy poplars—and its comfortable seats in the shade, must be indeed a restful resort for the citizens.

In the centre of the square stands the building in which are the works that bring the water from the Schuylkill to the city. Close to this house in a circular inclosure, is placed Mr. Richard Rush's [William Rush] exquisite art creation of a nymph, on a rock, having on her shoulder a bird with water spouting from its beak.

Then we went down Chestnut Street to visit what of all city sights I most wished to see: namely Peale's Museum.

The heat on the streets was most oppressive: so Mr. Steinman kindly took us into a tavern garden, and ordered beer for the whole party, which we found very refreshing.

Having come to the State House where the museum is located, we passed through it and into a fine square. Many people were there, either strolling in the walks or lounging on the benches. An angular space formed by the main building and one of its wings, inclosed and entered through a gate, held a large collection of beautiful flowers in pots, or boxes, and also a few living animals. Two great bears amused us exceedingly by their clumsy play, or as they drew from the recesses of their den vegetables—mostly asparagus—and eat them. On the top of the bears' house two parrots, apparently quite contented, chatted together; in the next cage an eagle sat right majestically on his perch—above his head

a placard with this petition on it: "Feed me daily for 100 years"; and next to it there was a monkey, who kindly showed us his whole assortment of funny capers and wonderful springs.

Over the lower door leading to the museum we observed this good advice: *Whoso would learn Wisdom, let him enter here!* At the foot of the stairway each of us paid ¼ dollar, and on the second floor we were shown into a large hall which was filled entirely with animals, finely mounted and in natural positions. In this room was located the *Oracle*—a lion's head: had I talked into it I should have fancied myself a priestess of a heathen temple; but we knew not where the sound outlet was, and it was only after we had gone through the three rooms that I discovered it. Then Mr. Steinman at the lion's head and Christel at the other end of the tube, quite a distance apart, talked together; but the novelty of it caused them, and us, to laugh so immoderately that they could hardly ask or reply to any questions.

I went about the rooms with my spectacles on under my bonnet, so that I could read the finely written labels; and in that way whenever I found anything remarkable I would call my companions to come and see it. Here we could observe abundant instance of the wisdom of God in His creation, as we viewed, with astonishment, the many different animals, birds and fish, and the infinite variety of exquisite butterflies and insects. The latter two exhibits in large, but shallow, glazed cases, were preserved from the effects of light by covers of heavy, marbled pasteboard, hinged at the top, over each pane of glass: lift up a cover and you see the butterflies!

I took much pleasure in reading whence all these curiosities came, and who had presented them: indeed, here "the inquisitive one" was in her element; for years she had wished that she might see this museum, and always she had honored the name of Mr. Charles Willson Peale: but now more than ever—since he has hung on the walls

scripture texts—in oval frames—beautifully engrossed—as silent reminders to the unthinking that there is a God who has created all things. On the door leading up to the organ were the affixed rules of behavior for visitors.

Two live snakes in a large receptacle having sides and top of glass, and filling a window recess, attracted our interested attention. The large one lay coiled fast asleep; the smaller one was gliding through the green grass growing on the bottom of the box. Above them a little yellow bird hopped from perch to perch singing cheerfully all the while. Poor, innocent thing, thought I, you are happy despite your imprisonment with the most disagreeable of creatures!

How glad "Mama" B. and I were to rest sometimes on the comfortably upholstered settees provided for just such tired ones as we were!

All this time I was looking forward to seeing the mammoth, and now I proposed that we inquire for it. Then a gentleman who had just come from the Philosophical Hall, where the great skeleton was kept, told us that he had seen it and had to pay ½ dollar for the privilege. All the party, but myself, declared that the price was entirely too high—a quarter they would give willingly, but not a cent more! I was keenly disappointed, yet did not wish to go in alone and be there among strangers. Just to content me, Christel went to the doorkeeper and asked him whether, as we were a large company, there might be a reduction in the charge for us—but he would not grant it; only he led us to some old bones that we had already seen!

In one of the rooms a man was making silhouettes. Polly coaxed me to have mine cut for her, but I couldn't think of it—with my big nose! Only Mr. Steinman and his daughter had theirs made. Here, too, were the Magic Mirrors, which afforded us much amusement—you might take your choice of a giant face, or a dwarf's, or have seven heads!

I read thoughtfully both of the Oaths that Talyrand made before a magistrate in Boston and Philadelphia respectively. How he is bound by them, thought I, our poor sea-captains and merchants have daily experience in fullest measure! The Oaths are hung here, framed.

On the wallswere finely painted portraits of distinguished men, and all of our presidents—besides other paintings. Which picture it was that Benjamin West honored the museum with, I wished to know; but whom should I ask? The walls could give no answer: and I had not the happiness to meet Mr. Peale. Don't laugh! there's no danger —I shall not set my cap for him, even if he is a widower!

As we left the State House all our talk was of how delightful had been our visit to the Museum. Had our time permitted it, I could have spent a whole day there.

It was almost one o'clock when we got back to our inn.

On our way back [from a ship-yard] Christel proposed that we should go to see Mr. Godfrey Haga [a prominent and wealthy merchant, and member of the Moravian Church], who, he said, could give me the address of Mrs. Ohxt (probably Oakes) as I had promised to call upon her.

[Thus abruptly, from some unknown cause, ends the Diary.]

MORTON OF CALCON HOOK.

BY THOMAS ALLEN GLENN.

[The following notes are from notes made some years since, a brief of title to lands in Ridley, and from a Ms. pedigree. The accuracy of the latter is not vouched for by the compiler of this genealogy; but as the pedigree is of interest because of its relation to a signer of the Declaration of Independence, it is hoped that corrections and additions will be made.]

(1) MÂRTON MÂRTONSON (*i.e.* Mârton son of Mârton, or Morton) a native of Sweden; of full age and on the Delaware, 1655; died after 24 May, 1703. He was probably born about 1625, and his father, Mârton, about 1595–1600.

Deed, 1694–5, 12 Mar. Andrew Jansen to Mârton Mârtonson, for a tract of land at Amosland.

Mârton is called in various documents and records, of Amsland, Amosland, Ammesland, and Millkill, in Ridley.

Issue:

(2) i. Mârton.

(3) ii. Mathias.

(4) iii. Andrew; d. 1722. Admon. 8 Nov., 1722. This Andrew had a deed from his father, 24 May, 1703, for land in Amosland.

(5) iv. Lace.

(2) MÂRTON MÂRTONSON (otherwise Morton Mortonson, and Morton Morton), of Calcon Hook, Co. Chester, eldest son.

Patent, 1701, 20 Oct. Wm. Penn by his commissioners, to Mârton Mârtonson, for land on the east side of Schuylkill, adjoining lands of Andrew Peterson Longacre and Otto Erick Cock, being 1200 acres. [Exemplification Book I., 565 etc., Phila.]

Deed, 1708, 7 Augt. Morton Mortonson of Calcon Hook, Co. Chester, yoeman, to John Mortonson [alias Morton], his son, of Calcon Hook, for 300 acres of the above 1200 acres. [Deed Book C., 42–46 etc., West Chester.]

Deed, 1708, 7 Augt., same to Andrew Mortonson [otherwise Morton], his son, for another 300 acres of the above 1200 acres [West Chester.]

Deed, 1708, 7 Augt. same to Lawrence Mortonson [otherwise Morton.] his son, two tracts of land; one of 60 acres, the other of 100 acres, in Co. Chester [West Chester.]

The Will of Morton Mortonson [otherwise Morton], dated 1 Nov., 1718; proved at West Chester, 1 Jan., 1718–19. He married Margaret ———; living and acknowledged a deed 27 July, 1716.

Issue:

(6) i. Marton, b. 17 June, 1675; d. s. p. before 1718.
(7) ii. Lawrence, b. 5 Oct., 1678.
(8) iii. Andrew, b. 8 Sept., 1681.
(9) iv. John, b. 1 June, 1683.
(10) v. Jacob, b. 24 May, 1686; d. s. p. before 1718.
(11) vi. Margaret, b. 27 Mar., 1687–8; m. George Culin.
(12) vii. Mathias, b. 8 Sept., 1690; m. Bridget ———; d. before 9 Dec., 1736.
(13) viii. David, b. 20 Feb., 1695; Admon. 11 Nov., 1738; m. Eleanor, dau. Justea Justea, of Kingsessing, yeoman. [See his will proved at Phila., 17 Feb., 1721. D.; p. 208.]

(3) MATHIAS MARTONSON, 2d son of Mârton Mârtonson(1) (otherwise Mortonson and Morton), was of Amosland, yoeman. His descendants assumed the surname of Morton.

Deed, 1703, 24 May. Mârton Mârtonson to Mathias Mârtonson [otherwise Morton], his son, for 350 acres of land, which the grantor had by deed from Andrew Jansen, 12 Mar., 1694–5.

Mathias died intestate before 15 Mar., 1717–18.

Issue:

(14) i. Andrew.
(15) ii. Morton.
(16) iii. John.
(17) iv. Peter
(18) v. Mathias.
(19) vi. Mary, m. John Stalcope.
(20) vii. Christianna, m. Samuel Peterson.
(21) viii. Catherine (?); d. young.

(7) LAWRENCE MÂRTONSON (otherwise Mortonson, and Morton), born 1675; of Calcon Hook, Co. Chester. He died 1713–14. Wife Bridget ———, who survived him.

Issue:

(22) i. Tobias; a witness to will of Andrew Morton, his cousin; proved at Phila., 18 June, 1748. (Perhaps others.)

(8) ANDREW MÂRTONSON (otherwise Mortonson, or Morton), 3d son of Mârton Mârtonson, born 1681; of Calcon Hook; called "Andrew Morton senior."

Deed, 1708, 7 Augt., Mârton Mârton to this Andrew, his son, for 300 acres of land, as cited *supra*.

Grantor in a deed 1727.

Grantor, with Anne his wife, in a deed 12 June, 1741.

Issue:

(23) i. Morton.
(24) ii. Andrew.

(9) JOHN MÂRTONSON (otherwise Mortonson, or Morton), 4th son of Mârton Mârtonson, born 1683; of Calcon Hook. He married, 1723–4, Mary, daughter of John Archer.

Deed, 1708, 7 Augt., Mârton Mârtonson, of Calcon Hook, to this John, his son, for 300 acres of land on Schuylkill, as cited *supra.*

John Morton is later called "of Ridley" in the county of Chester, yeoman. Will dated 6 Feb., 1724; proved 20 of 12 mo., 1724–5 [will Book A. 1, 166, West Chester.]

Issue.:

(25) John, b. 1724–5; m. Mary Sketchley.

(15) MORTON MORTON, 2d son of Mathias Mârtonson, married Christianna Wabraven.

Issue:

(26) i. Mathias.
(27) ii. Jonas
(28) iii. Andrew.
(29) iv. Sarah.
(30) v. John.
(31) vi. Anna.
(32) vii. Cornelius.
(33) viii. Susanna.
(34) ix. Christiana.
(35) x. John.

(23) MORTON MORTON, "eldest son and heir" of Andrew Morton of Calcon Hook. He was of full age, 1726, and 1748, had a bequest of Swamp land in New Jersey, from his brother Andrew. Married Lydia, daughter of Andrew, son of Mathias Mârtonson. She was under age 25 Feb., 1729–30; died 19 Sept., 1756. Morton Morton and Lydia his wife quit claim to Jonas Morton, son of Andrew, for land of said Andrew, father to said Jonas and Elizabeth.

Issue:

(36) i. George, m. Elizabeth Morton.
(37) ii. Morton, m. Mary Been.

(14) ANDREW MORTON, 2d son of Mathias Mârtonson, was of full age 1727, and called "of Calon Hook," and "of

Darby," yeoman. He owned a farm "at Darby Marsh on Calcon Hook Island," a cedar swamp in "the Jerseys," and "a lot at Wicco that hath a building on it." Will dated 16 Mar., 1747–8; proved at Philadelphia, 18 June, 1748. Married, first, Mary ———, secondly, Amy, or Eamey, ———.

Issue:

(38) i. George.
(39) ii. Hannah, unm. 1770.
(40) iii. Ann, unm. 1770.
(41) iv. Eleanor, m., 25 Augt., 1763, Garrett Boon.
(42) v. Amy, d. 12 Dec., 1751.
(43) vi. Elizabeth, m., 12 Nov., 1763, George Morton; living 1770.

(38) GEORGE MORTON, eldest son of Andrew, probably by first wife, was of Ridley, and Kingsessing, and married, 17 Jan., 1766, Ann Robinson; she married secondly, before 1800, Andrew Boon. George Morton was under age 16 Mar., 1748–8; died 1782. Admon. to Charles Justice, 13 May, 1782.

Deed, 1775, 23 Jan. George Morton, of Kingsess, Phila., and Ann his wife, to Andrew Boon, of Calcon Hook, for land on Calcon Hook, which grantor had by deed of Benjamin Urian, of 8 July, 1772.

Issue:

(44) Mary, b. 1776, m., 1st, 19 Sept., 1795, George Higgins; m., 2dly, 24 Sept., 1800, John Bishop, son of Christopher, of Gloucester Co., N. J.

MILITARY LETTERS OF CAPTAIN JOSEPH SHIPPEN OF THE PROVINCIAL SERVICE, 1756–1758.

[The "Shippen Papers" of the Manuscript Department, of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, which have been arranged, fill upwards of 50 folio volumes, and are in much request by all those who are engaged in the development of our Provincial history. The "Military Letter Book of Joseph Shippen, 1756–1758," from which the following letters have been transcribed, is but one of a number of others of a similar character, which, with the original plans of Fort Augusta and the surveyed route of Gen. Forbes' expedition against Fort Duquesne, are of great historical value.

Joseph Shippen, the youngest son of Edward Shippen "of Lancaster," by his wife Sarah Plumley, and brother of Chief Justice Edward Shippen, born in Philadelphia, October 30, 1732, graduated at Princeton, 1753, with the degree of A. B. He entered the Provincial Service as Captain in the regiment commanded by Col. William Clapham, served at Fort Augusta and Shamokin, 1756–1757, and under Gen. Forbes in the expedition which captured Fort Duquesne, November 25, 1758. After the disbandment of his command, he went to Europe, and on his return to Philadelphia, was appointed January 2, 1762, Secretary of Provincial Council, and served until its dissolution in 1775. In June of 1786, he was appointed a Judge of the Lancaster County Courts, and died at Lancaster February 10, 1810. He was married at Christ Church, September 29, 1768, to Jane, daughter of John Galloway of Maryland; born September, 1745, died February 17, 1801. Mr. Shippen was a cultured gentleman, and filled his military and official positions with ability and honor.]

LANCASTER 13th April 1756.

HONd SIR.

Last night Major Burd delivered me your Honours commission appointing me a captain in the regiment under the command of Colo Clapham, an Honour which I am sensible, no merit in me could have laid any claim to. I therefore esteem my appointment to this office as a most distinguished mark of your Honours Favour & Regard. And I take this opportunity to express my Thankfulness to your Honour in the most grateful manner.

I shall endeavour to discharge the Trust reposed in me with great chearfulness, & shall always promote the Interests of His Majesty & this Province to the utmost of my power.

I am much obliged to your Honour for the Priviledge you give me of nominating a Subaltern, and tho' I might think of several agreeable persons in Philad[a] yet as it would delay time to know their minds, I beg your Honour will be pleased to appoint such as are most agreeable to yourself, with whom I am sure I shall be satisfied. I shall set off Tomorrow for Susquehannah with Major Burd in order to engage Canoes at several places on the River, & shall transmit you on Acco[t] of my success as soon as I return here. I am with due esteem,

Your Honour's
Most obliged & hum[e] Serv[t]
JOSEPH SHIPPEN J[r]

To the HON[ble] Gov[r]

LANCASTER 13[th] April 1756.

SIR.

I received your Instructions of the 11[th] Ins[t] pr. Major Burd, who at the same delivered me Fifty Pounds & His Honour the Gov[rs] Commission appointing me a Captain in your Regim[t] & have been qualified accordingly before Major Burd.

I shall endeavour to observe your Instructions at all times with the greatest Punctuality. Tomorrow I intend to set out for Harris's ferry with M[r] Burd, from thence shall proceed down the River to the several Ferrys & other Places where Canoes are to be had, and on my Return I shall acquaint you with my success; in the mean time shall leave my Serjeant to recruit w[th] my Father's assistance.

I find I cannot get Recruits quartered here for less than

a Shilling pr. Day, which has hitherto been paid by all Recruiting Officers. I shall wait your Orders in this Respect, in the mean time I must pay as usual. I am very respectfully

Sir your most obed^{t} Hum^{e} Serv^{t}

JOSEPH SHIPPEN J^{r}

To COL^{o} WILL^{m} CLAPHAM, at Philad^{a}.

April 16th 1756

SIR.

Be pleased to enlist for me some young active men of no less size than five feet six inches high, agreeable to the Terms of the Advertisement I herewith give you; as fast as you enlist them I beg you will send them to M^{r} John Harris, who will entertain till I send him further Directions. After they have taken the Oath of Fidelity & signed it, let the Justice of Peace sign a Certificate of it setting down the Day of the Month. I leave with you five Dollars to give to the men, each one Dollar advanced money. Let the Articles of War be read to them before he enlists.

Your compliance will much oblige

D^{r} Sir

Your Friend & hum^{e} Serv^{t}

JOSEPH SHIPPEN

P.S. they must be enlisted
for not less than
twelve months.

To CAP^{T}. THO^{s} M^{c}KEE, at Hunter's Mill.

LANCASTER 19th April 1756.

SIR.

I returned here last night from Susquehannah and tho' I rode from Hunter's Mill down the River as far as John Ross's at the blew Rock, I could not find but twenty seven Canoes that are good for anything, which the

People have promised to deliver to me as soon as I call for them, but I think it will be impracticable for the men of the Regim^{t} who are unskilled in working Canoes with Poles against the Stream, to transport them up to Harris Ferry on acco^{t} of the Rapidity & Falls of the River & as several people have agreed to deliver their canoes there without any cost, it would be attended with the less charge. If I was impowered to hire River Men to carry up those that are more distant. However I shall wait your further Instructions in this point, since I may receive them as soon as I can Recruit a sufficient number of men for that purpose. I am favour'd with your Instructions of 14th & 15th Ins^{t} Ens^{g} Clayton & Cartland arrived here last night with a Party of 47 men & the Waggons and agreeable to your orders I have given them the proper instructions how & where to proceed &c.

I am very respectfully Sir

Your obed^{t} hum^{e} Serv^{t}

Joseph Shippen Jr.

To Col^{o} W^{m} Clapham.

Lancaster 19th April 1756.

Honoured Sir:

I am to inform your Honour that I came home last night from the Susquehannah & have engaged twenty-seven canoes, a return whereof I here enclose with a letter to Col^{o} Clapham, which after perusal I beg your Honour will be pleased to seal up. If the Commission for my Ensign is not filled I would take the Liberty to recommend to your Honour one M^{r} John Lowdon living at Susquehannah, for that office, he is a young gentleman of good sense, great activity & spirit, of whom I did not once think of when I wrote to your honour before.

I am with Esteem

Your Honours most obed^{t} hum'le

Joseph Shippen J^{r}.

To the Governor:

Lancaster 19th April 1756.

Sir:

The Ensigns Mr Clayton & Cartland are marching up to your House with a Party of 47 men, 30 whereof are going to Carlisle with Mr Cartland, the remainder with Mr Clayton stay at your House. As Mr Clayton has orders not to break in upon the Publick Stores, I desire that you will furnish his 17 men with provisions at one Shilling p. Day.

There are four or five Waggons going up also with Provisions &c. which I beg you'll immediately take care of upon their arrival & store them safely in your House within the Stockade, as they will be more secure there than anywhere else. Be pleased to write to me soon concerng the number of canoes arrived &c. your care in these Publick Matters will entitle you to the Favour of every Body.

I am Sir

Your most humble Servt

Joseph Shippen.

To Mr John Harris, at Pextang.

Lancaster 21st April 1756

Sir.

I am to inform you that a Detachment of a Serjeant & thirty one men who are now in this Town, will be at your House next Saturday night, & will remain there some time, I beg therefore you will make the necessary preparations for Lodging & Provisions for them, and also for seventy or a hundred more men, which I suppose will arrive at Pextons by the beginning of next week.

I expect Colo Clapham up here in a few Days. I should be glad to know whether Capt McKee has sent you any Recruits for me.

I am

Your very humble Servt

Joseph Shippen Jr.

To Mr John Harris at Pextang.

Lancaster 24th April 1756.

Sir.

Your Favour of the 18th Inst. I received p Serjeant Braddock with a command of thirty one men, whom I dispatched yesterday morng to John Harris's, having sent notice to him the Day before to make the necessary preparation for their Reception. At the same time I informed him that I supposed 70 or 100 more men would arrive at his House the beginning of next week, that he might be the better provided to entertain them also.

Lieut Davis arrived here the night before last with a Detachment of 75 men, whom I have detained here, where there are good Quarters as Mr Harris can't have had time enough to make suitable provision for them. I wrote to you on the 19th inst. since which I have been recruiting here & waiting your further Orders with regard to getting the Canoes up to Harris's, which I am certain the men I have enlisted cannot possibly do, without the greatest difficulty & Danger of their lives as the River is rapid & there are bad falls in it. I have recruited about 40 clever Fellows, & should be glad to know how many more will be necessary, as People offer themselves every Day. I would mention to you that several of the Locks of the Muskets which are gone to Harris's, are very bad & will want to be rectified, I think therefore, it will be requisite that 2 or 3 Gunsmiths from this town should examine them thoroughly when the Regiment shall be at the place of Rendezvous.

I am with Respect
Sir, Your most obedt hume Servt
Joseph Shippen Jr.

To Colo William Clapham,
in Philada

Dr Brother,

His Honour the Governor has been pleased (in his letter to my Father) to give me the Priviledge of nominating a Subaltern for my Company, but as I did not

think of a suitable person immediately, I wrote to His Honour to appoint such a one as he thought proper. And as I don't understand that any is yet commissioned for my Lieutenant, & I am unwilling to trouble the Governor with any further letters on that head, I would desire you to wait upon the Governor as soon as you receive this, and let him know that I should like M^r^ John Dougharty of this Town for that Office; he is a sprightly genteel young man; he is very willing to act as a Lieutenant under me tho' not under a stranger. I should have mention'd him to the Governor before, but that I did know he was disengaged from the Batteau Service, as he has been enlist^g^ men for that Purpose.

I have wrote to his Honour already in Favour of M^r^ John Lowdon for my Ensign.

I have enlisted about 40 clever fellows for my company, & expect soon to fill it.

My love to sister Peggy &c. I am in hopes of having the pleasure to see you at his Court before we march.

Your very affection^e^ Bro.

JOSEPH SHIPPEN J^r^.

To EDW^d^ SHIPPEN Jr Esq^r^.

LANCASTER 28^th^ April 1756.

SIR.

I wrote to you on the 24^th^ ins^t^ & have since had the pleasure to receive your Favour of the 23^d^ and one Sunday morn^g^ I picked from among Lieu^t^ Davis's men ten. Canoe men, whom I immediately sent off with a Corporal to Susquehannah, and followed them myself in order to hire a few Hands to assist them in taking canoes up to Harris's, where I expect they got last night. I have pursuant to your Directions, ordered 1500 feet of 2 inch Plank & 1000 feet of inch Board to be sawed as soon as possible near Harris's. If Batteaus are to be made of this Plank, I am told that of 2 inch will be too thick for the purpose, because that heavy Battoes will draw too much water & carry less Burthen than lighter

ones. Lieu^{t} Davis marched with his men on Monday morning for Harris's Ferry, and last night two Waggons with Pork arrived here, w^{ch} I sent off immediately to the place of Rendezvous with a letter to Lieu^{t} Davis to see it carefully stored. But as the ten other Waggons, you mentioned to me, are not yet come to this Town I suppose they are gone the Road by the Iron-works.

Several Carpenters might be engaged in the Service from this county, but as none will come under any promise, without knowing the Terms, I cannot certainly inform you what number would be willing to enter.

I have now Fifty-seven men enlisted & am still recruiting. Please to present my Complim^{ts} to Cap^{t} Lloyd, and be assured that I am with respect.

Sir,
Your most obed^{t} hum^{e} Serv^{t}
JOSEPH SHIPPEN JR.

To COL^{o} WILLIAM CLAPHAM,
in Philad^{a}.

CAMP AT HARRIS'S FERRY May 7th 1756.

DEAR SIR.

Col^{o} Clapham desires the Favour of you to send us your Drum, and tho' it will be some inconvenience to send for another for yourself, yet it will be a very particular kindness conferred upon us; as we are in great want of such instruments to inspire us with Martial Musick. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you here before we march, which we shall not be able to do these two weeks at least. Cap^{t} Young was yesterday appointed *aid-de-camp* to General Morris.

I am with my Compliments to M^{rs} Ross.

Sir,
Your most obed^{t} hum^{e} Serv^{t}
J. SHIPPEN J^{r}.

To CAP^{t} GEO. ROSS, at Lancaster.

Camp at Harris, May 1756
Saturday 8 o'clock A.M.

Honoured Sir.

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the Receipt of Mammy's letter of the 9th inst and yours of the 11th 12th & 13th. The waggoner left the Portmanteau & Trunks &c. at Semple's, however John Harris & I contrived to send a waggon to bring them up, with some things also for him, and yesterday they came to hand, but my Regimentals are abundantly too large both in the sleeves & Body, but I have two taylors now at work on them & making them narrower by taking in the cloth & not cutting off the least bit. I have tried them on already & find they fit me exceeding well, & will be finished in two hours. The things you sent p Mr. Blythe came safe also. And the coopers waggon is just arrived with the Govrs Beer & the other things you were so kind to send. The loaf sugar was packed up in the Box with the Govrs Punch Bowl & so was carried to his marquee, but as he had occasion for Sugar I left it with him. I heartily thank Mammy for her kindness in the care she took in sendg my things &c. The Govr & Colo desire their compliments to her & return her many thanks for the good Gingerbread. Mr. Elder delivered me the inclosed Remonstrance, as there are as many names to it as he can get, & there is room left for those to sign, who signed the one you think is lost. Mr. Armstrong tells me to desire you to see that the Remonstrances are sent down to the Assembly as soon as possible, because they will break up perhaps in a short time.

The secret matters I mentioned in my former letters to you, is a difference that unfortunately happened between the Governor & the Colo, in so much that they were not upon speaking terms, nor did they see each other for 3 or 4 days. The Breach was carried to such a length

that the Col° 2 days ago, immediately equipped himself with Boots & spurs, ordered his Horses out & his Baggage to be packed up, & came to take his leave of Cap^{t} Lloyd & myself, but we stop^{d} him short, & walked up & down the lane in a conversation with him for an hour & a half, representing to him the Danger the Province would be exposed to by his leav^{g} the Regim^{t} in the present confused situation, & the good intentions & sincerity of the Governor towards him at all times & used many other prevailing arguments with him to continue in the service; we had so much Influence over him as to persuade him to stay till the morn^{g} by which means, M^{r} Peters, Parsons, Beaty & other Friends had an opportunity to advise the Col° to amicable terms with the Gov^{r}. We several times wished for your presence here to act as a Mediator between them. However I have pleasure to inform you, that last night they had a private conference together in the Gov^{rs} Marquee, and in abo^{t} an hours time while we were all sitting in Harris's Room they both came in to us with chearful countenances which gave us the most sensible joy, and the Breach is entirely made up.

The difference arose from some expressions, the Gov^{r} inadvertently drop't to the Col° at 2 or 3 different times, which the Col° imagined was done with an intention to affront him. I have not time to particularize the expressions as it is late at night. M^{r} Burd's conduct has been so good here as to have gained the affections of the Gov^{r}, Col°, & Cap^{t} Lloyd, and they often speak greatly in his praise, as an industrious active useful and clever fellow. He has not any time to write, and desires that any letters I write may be taken as from him & me jointly. Indeed I have very little time myself for the purpose as I have constantly one duty or other to do.

The Gov^{r}, Col° Mr. Beatty & Cap^{t} Lloyd desire their Complim^{ts} to you, Mammy & Sally &c. I conclude M^{r}

Burd's & my love to Mammy, Sister & all the Family as if particularly named.

I am very sincerely
Sir, your affectionate
& dutiful Son
JOSEPH SHIPPEN JR.

P.S. I got Ensign Atlee to copy part of this letter this morning early as I am immediately going on a command with 60 men to Hunter's Mill, to escort the Gov^{r} & Col^{o} who go also. I shall have occasion for 2 more pair of brown thread stockings, as the worsted will be too warm for Summer.

To EDW^{d} SHIPPEN ESQ^{r}.

CAMP AT M^{c}KEE'S STORE 1st June 1756.

HON^{d} SIR.

I came here safe last night with Cap^{t} Lloyd & other officers; we have now here above half the Regim^{t} & I expect Major Burd up with the remainder in three days.

I rec'd your Fav^{r} of 30th ulto. this morn^{g} to w^{ch} I can make no answer till I speak with the Col^{o} wth reg^{d} to the stools &c.

The Col^{o} desires me to send you the inclosed letter & furlough; you'll see by it, that one Pepler, a soldier, is in goal on suspicion of burning a fence & he begs you'll be pleased to enquire into the affair, & see whether the man can be released, so as to join the Regiment.

Please also to enquire for Andrew Ring, a soldier, who had a Furlough above a week ago, to be absent but three days; he went to Lancaster to see his wife, and please to acquaint him if he does not immediately return, the Col^{o} will advertize him as a Desert^{r}.

The Col^{o} expects the pleasure of seeing you here in a very short time, as I suppose we shall march from hence very soon. I should be glad if it should suit your con-

veniency to come up. My love to Mammy, Salley & all the Family. The Col$^{o's}$ & Cap^{t} Lloyds Comp^{ts} to you.

I am with great Esteem

Your very Affect^{e} & dutiful Son

JOSEPH SHIPPEN JR.

To EDW^{d} SHIPPEN ESQ^{r}, at Lancaster.

(To be continued.)

RETURN OF THE SICK AT LITITZ HOSPITAL, AUGUST 23, 1778.

BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

In the PENNA. MAG., Vol. xx, No. 2, pp. 137, we printed an article on "The Military Hospitals at Bethlehem and Lititz during the Revolution." The hospital at Lititz was open from December 19, 1777, to August 28, 1778, Dr. Francis Alison, Jr., being the senior surgeon in charge. Through the courtesy of Dr. Gaillard Hunt, Chief of the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, we are enabled to give a list of the patients on the date they were transferred to the hospitals at Lancaster and the Yellow Springs.

"A List of Mens Names remaining in the Gen[l] Hospital at Letitz in Brigades, Reg[t]., Comp[ys]. &c., August 23[d] 1778."

Wayne's Brigade.

Alex. Creighton,	1st Penna.,	Capt. Wilson,
George Filson,	do	do
William Rule,	2d do	Capt. Piercy,
James M[c]Kenney,	8th do	Capt. Finley,
Sadler Roach,	4th do	Capt. Fishburn.

Conway's Brigade.

John Gregor,	3d Penna.,	Capt. Reece,
Patrick Robinson,	9th do	Capt. Anderson,
Alex. Hannah,	9th do	Capt. Irwin,
James Cummins,	12th do	Capt. Byrd.

Scott's Brigade.

Abraham Levi,	8th Virginia,	Capt. Steed,
William Woodford,	do	do
John Andrews,	12th do	Capt. Casey,
Joseph West,	16th do	Capt. West.

Woodford's Brigade.

James O'Bryan,	11th Virginia,	Capt. Potterfield,
John Unctean,	13th Penna.,	Capt. Scott,
Chas Shields,	15th Virginia,	Capt. Wells,
Timothy Conner,	do	Capt. Hull,
Aaron Oseley,	do	Capt. Harris,
James Morris,	Col. Jackson,	Capt. Doliver,
Felix Tool,	do	Capt. Jones,
Jams Winford,	do	do
Wm Manning,	Col. Prentice,	Capt. Shamway,
Henry Gloss.	do	do.

Muhlenberg's Brigade.

John Moore,	1st Virg. State,	Capt. Ewell,
James Martin,	13th Virginia,	Capt. Sullivan,
Willm Gass.	do	Capt. Steel.

McIntosh's Brigade.

Willis Smith,	6th N. Carolina,	Capt. Williams,
Gerrard Craig,	do	Capt. Dougherty,
Isaac Griffin,	10th do	Capt. Gregory,
John Evans,	3d do	Capt. Williamson,
John Frankum,	6th do	Capt. Taylor.

Varnum's Brigade.

Ambrose Hines,	Col. Chandler,	Capt. Ryse,
William Boswell,	Col. Angel,	Capt. Tew,
Jonathan Pardee,	Col. Chandler,	Capt. Smith.

Smallwood's Brigade.

John McCormac,	4th Maryland,	Capt. Burgess,
Mark Welch,	7th do	Capt. Randle.

Maxwell's Brigade.

William Sutton,	2d Jersey,	Capt. Lucey,
John Syren,	5th do	Capt. Britten.

Weeden's Brigade.

Virgil Poe,	2d Virginia	Capt. Upshaw,
James Anderson,	6th do	Capt. Fox,
Wm Knight,	10th do	Capt. Woodson,
Joel Harlow,	14th do	Capt. Marks.

Patterson's Brigade.

Stephen Remington,	Col. Bradley,	Capt. Santford,
Joseph Lawrence,	Col. Tupper,	Capt. White.

Humpton's Brigade.

Henry Pencil,	5th Penna.	Capt. Church,
John Hargin,	do	Capt. Potts,
Barney Cox,	6th do	Capt. McGowan,
John McSorly,	7th do	Capt. Bush,
Wm Campbell,	11th do	Capt. Scull,
Josh. McCawley,	do	Capt. Dawson.
Joshua Dutton,	Col. Handley,	do
Gashua Busheard,	Col. Hartley,	Capt. Stroud,
Hermenius Thornton,	Col. Proctor,	Capt. Proctor,
Chas Steward,	Col. Patton,	Capt. Baker,
Patrick Turner,	Col. Moiland,	Capt. Craig,
Wm Tarbox,	Col. Wesser,	Capt. Dicks,
David Hall,	Col. Swift,	Capt. Woodbridge.

Invalid.

John Cochlin,	Col. Swift,	Capt. Woodbridge,
Mark Wood,	do	do
Francis Millner,	do	do
Math. Wingfield,	do	do
Michl Trainer,	Col. Hazen	Capt. White,
John Carner,	6th Penna.	Capt. Mouser.

Prisoners of War.

Henry Otto,	Col. Prentice	Capt. Shamway
Yost Needle,	do	do
Henry Shank,	do	do

Fra. Alison, Junr
Senr Surg.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

ROUTE FROM PHILADELPHIA TO PITTSBURGH, IN 1828.—

From Philadelphia to Schuylkill	2	2	Ramsay's	5	156
Columbus	3	5	Koyle's	2	158
Buck	6	11	Samison's	1	159
Adm. Warren	12	23	Burd's at Littleton	4	163
Downing's town	10	33	Wild's	9	172
Cross Keys	8	41	John Skinner's	2	174
Waggon	13	54	Beamer's at Juniata	8	182
Conestoga bridge	10	64	Morgan's	3	185
Lancaster	2	66	Balentine's	4	189
Snider's	4	70	Hartley's	1	190
Paydon's	4	74	Bedford	6	196
Nicholas's	4	78	M'Gaughey's	2	198
Elizabeth town	5	83	Bonnet's	2	200
Three crowns	2	85	Anderson's	5	205
Sweetarra	5	90	Ryan's	2	207
Middletown	1	91	Miller's	5	212
Flora's	1	92	Stotler's	3	215
Black horse	2	94	Stoney creek	10	225
Chamber's	3	97	Bridge's	2	227
Harrisburg	3	100	Penrod's	3	230
Patterson's	2	102	Well's	5	235
Another tavern	5	107	Glenn's	6	241
Walker's	4	111	Ligonier	5	246
Carlisle	6	117	Read's	10	256
Mount rock	7	124	Baldridges	4	260
The Turk	3	127	Greensburg	5	265
Shippensburg	11	138	Walthower's	8	273
Black horse	4	142	Meyer's at Turtle creek	11	284
Strasburg	6	148	M'Nier's	5	289
Geo. Skinner's	3	151	Pittsburg	7	296

There are five Ridges to pass upon this road:

I. The Kittochtinny hills, three in number, a short distance beyond Strasburg.

II. Sideling hill, just beyond Wild's tavern, and is seven miles across.

III. The Allegheny hills; these are about fifteen miles across.

IV. The Laurel ridge, about six miles across.

V. The Chestnut ridge, beyond Fort Ligonier.

There are three roads leading from Lancaster to Carlisle:

I. By way of York town, which is the post road crossing Susquehanna at Anderson's ferry.

II. By Rankin's ferry, said to be the shortest.

III. By Middletown, the route in this table.

If a traveller on the last mentioned road has no wish to call at Harrisburg, he can, by crossing Susquehanna River at Chamber's ferry, save two miles.

From Mount Rock to Shippensburg, fourteen miles, there is no run of water across the high road.

At Bonnet's tavern the road forks; the southernmost is called the Glade Road, the northernmost the Old or Forbes' Road, and goes by Ligonier: these roads unite twenty-eight miles on this side of Pittsburgh.

Queries.

Redman.—Information is desired about the Redman family of Philadelphia. John Redman (Deed Book E, 2, 214) is mentioned as obtaining warrant to certain land in Philadelphia from William Penn November 24, 1683. His will mentions his wife Susanna and sons Thomas and Joseph. In Deed Book F, 1, 266, *Elizabeth* Redman is mentioned as the wife of Joseph Redman, Aug. 12, 1717. In the will of Joseph Redman, 1722, his wife *Sarah* is mentioned. Now were there *two* Joseph Redmans or was the one twice married? If he was married more than once, who was the mother of Susanna Redman, born 1701, who married Ralph Assheton, Provincial Councillor? Also, from where did the Redmans emigrate, what was the maiden name of Susanna, wife of John, the emigrant? Of this family somewhat later was Doctor John Redman, 1722–1808.

In the inventory of Robert Assheton's estate, are mentioned three family portraits. Can anyone give information in regard to early Assheton or Redman portraits or the maiden name of Margaret, wife of Robert Assheton?

Box 165, Bryn Mawr, Pa. J. M. B., Jr.

Mercer.—Benjamin James Mercer was of Philadelphia, then of New York, then again, in 1782, of Philadelphia; in 1787 he was back to New York, getting married to Elizabeth Mott. His son Benjamin was baptized the last of the same year in New York. That is last I know of him. Any item relative to him, or his wife Elizabeth Mott, will be acceptable.

N. R. F.

Test.—In the census of 1799, there is a Henry Test with two males over 16, one under, and three females. Can anyone tell me the name of the wife and the names of the children? They were in Philadelphia Co.

Test.—Can anyone tell me the names of the parents of the following? John Test died in Belfast, Ireland, about 1810. He was a mariner; Elizabeth or Eliza married Jan. 30, 1798, Henry Andrew Heins in Philadelphia. There were three other children, names not known to me. The mother of these children died, the father left them in Pennsylvania and went to Kentucky and married a second time. Any information about the Test family will be greatly appreciated. Am willing to pay for the information of the father of Elizabeth, if it is given with references, or to make returns in any other way.

Washington, D. C. N. R. F.

The Wharton Mansion on Assawaman Creek, Virginia.—While summering on Wallop's Island, on the Virginia coast, a visit was suggested to the "Wharton Red Brick House," on Assawaman Creek. We found it situated on the bluff, from which beautiful views of ocean, forest and fields were had. The house, about fifty feet square, is three stories in height, and in its day must have been an attractive structure. The walls are in a good state of preservation and so are the spiral stairway and floors, the latter laid with narrow strips of pine and as close as if soldered together. The wainscoting is also in good condition. Although the house has but two chimneys, there are fourteen open fire-places; the mantles in the large airy rooms have more or less suffered, as parts of them have been appropriated for use elsewhere or by vandals. The knocker on the front door, of brass, massive and of peculiar design, informed us that *J. Wharton*, had been the occupant at one time. From data gathered from tombstones in the little family grave-yard close by, we came to the conclusion that

the mansion house might have been erected about a century and a half ago—one stone bore the following inscription:

JOHN WHARTON
1784.

Another, easier to decipher, read as follows:

IN MEMORY OF ELIZABETH WHARTON, DAUGHTER
OF WILLIAM AND MARGARET WILLIAMS BORN IN
ACCOMAC COUNTY 14TH MAY 1769,
MARRIED JOHN WHARTON 1784,
DIED NOVEMBER 13TH 1831.

The other stones were so weather worn, that it was not possible to decipher names or dates.

There are numerous local traditions relating to the old family relations. *Query:* Who knows anything about this branch of the Wharton family?

BETHLEHEM, PA. A. S. SCHROPP.

Book Notice.

NARRATIVES OF EARLY PENNSYLVANIA, WEST NEW JERSEY AND DELAWARE, 1630–1707.

In his "Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, 1630–1707," compiled by Mr. Albert Cook Myers for the series of original narratives reproduced under the auspices of the American Historical Association, the compiler has made a most useful contribution to our sources of historical information, and has given the student the opportunity to utilize many almost inaccessible contemporaneous descriptions of voyages and colonizations. Several of these narratives are here translated into English for the first time. All of them are enriched by copious notes giving biographical information concerning the persons mentioned, and geographical information enabling the reader to fix the locations of the places to which references are made. Oftentimes such references in the text are obscure because of changes in spelling, and in names. These notes, often accompanied by citations of authorities, are the outcome of the abundant information of Mr. Myers, due to long, continued and careful invcstigation. There are likewise three illustrations, two maps and a facsimile title page, and the typography is to be commended.

This useful book would have been even more satisfactory if the scheme of the American Historical Association, which seems to have demanded a volume limited in size, had not made necessary the omission of many interesting narratives of the period selected concerning this central and important part of the country. Thus we fail to find the voyages of Van der Donck, Daniel Falkners "Curiense Nachricht," Pieter Cornelius Plockhoy's "Kort en Klaer Ontwerp" (1662), in many respects more important than any of those included, "A further account of New Jersey" (1676), and several others. There is one paper relating to the earliest settlement by the Dutch and seven concerning the subscquent settlement by the Swedes, one of them written fifty-two years later than the period designated. In an entirely correct presentation of the history of the country, bordering upon the South River (Delaware), priority and consequence must ever be accorded to the Dutch, for the reason given by William Penn in his letter to the Society of Traders (1683): "The first Planters in these parts were the Dutch, and soon after them the Swedes and Finns."

S. W. P.

THE

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MILITARY LETTERS OF CAPTAIN JOSEPH SHIPPEN OF THE PROVINCIAL SERVICE, 1756–1758.

(Continued from p. 378.)

CAMP AT M^cKEE'S STORE 2^d June 1756.

DEAR BROTHER.

As I don't know when I shall have the pleasure of writ^g a line to you again, I take this leisure hour to give you some Acco^t of our situation before we proceed further on our march. 'Tis about a fortnight ago Cap^t Work with a Detachment of 100 men was sent from Harris's to take Post at this place; the Col^o joined him two days ago with about the same number, and last night Cap^t Lloyd & I arrived here. I suppose we have in this camp about 2/3^ds of the Regiment; and I expect Major Burd here with the remainder from Harris's in 2 or 3 days. Our Battoes are employed every day in bringing the Provisions & Stores from Harris's, as we have but 15 finished yet, we constantly send them back (as soon as they are unloaded) to Major Burd. The carpenters are still at work on more of them, and I hope will compleat their business before the River falls too much. It is so low now, that I believe we shall march from hence this week, tho' we yet want more than 150 blankets & several other things necessary for the men. We could not pos-

sibly move from Harris's before this time for several reasons. We were entirely destitute of Blankets till very lately, & the men obliged to lay out in the cold dew without any covering or shelter, w^ch^ obliged 15 or 20 of them to desert. The Arms too are as bad as you can conceive them to be, one fourth of them split with single proof, the locks are of the lowest price & continually out of order, so that we shall be obliged to take W^m^ Henry with us to repair them from time to time, tho' he has already taken a great deal of pains to rectifie them, & bore & straiten the Barrels.

We have indeed had lately sent up to us about 150 excellent short light arms w^ch^ came in Meshard, & I think the Comm^rs^ ought to send us up 200 or 300 more of the same sort, & then order us to throw our Philad^a^ Arms into the middle of Susquehannah. The Province, I am very sensible, would be a great gainer by it.

You'll excuse my confused manner of writing as it is late at night. Perhaps in months time I may find matter, for a letter more worth your notice. Be assured; Brother that you are ever dear to me, & remember me affectionately to Sister Peggy & the little ones. I would beg my Complim^ts^ to Mrs. Francis & Family, & Mr. Lawrence Coxe & theirs & all my relations, as if particularly named. Willing, D^r^ Shippen, J. Shippen & theirs &c. Col^o^ Clapham & Cap^t^ Lloyd desire their Complim^ts^ to you.

Adieu, I am
Your very affect^e^ Bro^r^
Joseph Shippen J^r^

To Edw^d^ Shippen Jr. Esq^r^, in Philad^a^

Camp at Rob^t^ Armstrong's 10^th^ June 1756.

Dear Sir.

We arrived here safely last Sunday afternoon with 5 companies, leaving Major Burd & Cap^t^ Lloyd with the other three at M^c^Kee's Store, and we expect them up in a few days. I have very little leisure time to write, being

continually engaged with the Col° as Secretary to him in Cap^{t} Lloyd's absence.

2 partys of our Scouts are returned, & an Ind^{n} from S^{r} W^{m} Johnson with them, but we all under our Parole of Honour, not to communicate to our Friends any part of the intelligence they bring, till the Governor is acquainted with it, to whom the Col° will immediately write after our Conference with the Ind^{n} is over. You'll therefore excuse me from saying any more.

The Col° desires you'll accept this as a joint letter from him & myself, to return you thanks for all your favours and to assure you of his great Friendship for you. He wants to give you an order on the Commissioners to be paid for the expences for the Regim^{t} if you'll send me an Acco^{t} of the same by the return of M^{r} W^{m} Henry or the first opportunity, I will mention it to the Col°. We are erecting a Fort here for a Magazine of Provisions, but when we are to move higher is not yet known. The Governor is not yet informed of anything I write to you.

The Col° & Cap^{t} Lloyd desire their Complim^{ts} to you.

I am with love to all at home

Your affec^{e} & dut. son

Joseph Shippen J^{r}.

Camp at Shamokin, 10th July 1756,
Saturday.

Honoured Sir.

I had the pleasure to write to you last on the 1st inst. when we left Fort Halifax and I now rejoice to inform you that we all arrived at this place with safety on Tuesday afternoon last, without seeing an enemy, tho' I am convinced we did not march unobserved by them. We discovered every day a great number of Indian tracks & several fresh Encampments at some distance from the road, from whence we had not the least doubt of being attacked some where on our march, but we were

under no apprehensions of danger on that acco^{t} as we proceeded along with great regularity & caution, having a well concerted line of march, such as would prevent us from being surprized or surrounded. The whole body extended in length from front to rear a mile & a half & consisted of an advanced party, a van guard of 25 men, the provosts guard, the main body & a rear guard, each party from the other at the distance of 100, & 200 yds. and every man five yards from another marching always in one Indian file, each party having its own Wing Guards 150 yds. distance on the right or left flank as we marched on the East or West side of the River. The Fleet of Battoes always under the escort of the main body. Our several Encampments from Fort Halifax were as follows. On the 1st July at Berry's Place, the next day we crossed the River here & marched 3 miles to Barber's House, on the 3^{d} to Mahotongo 6 miles, on the 4th to Chas. Williams 6 miles; on the 5th 12 miles to the Falls (opposite the mouth of Shamokin Creek) where we arrived at 8 o'clock. The Colonel prudently judged that if we pitched here, the Indians seeing our fire from Shamokin would dispute our passage of the River in the morning & perhaps obtain a compleat victory over us. He therefore determined in order to frustrate any design of that we should cross the River in the night & take possession of the ground on the east side, in w^{ch} we succeeded without opposition, having got all the Troops Provisions & Baggage over by 4 o'clock in the morning; we were then but two miles from Shamokin & that the men might rest from their fatigue, we did not decamp till near 2 o'clock, but sent a little before us a scouting party to reconnoitre the ground.

We seated ourselves here about 3 o'clock and before night were encircled by a Fascine Breastwork of Brush. We have been since employed in laying out the Fort, falling the trees round about us & hawling the logs, we have already erected within the lines of the Fort two

Houses 11 logs high for Barracks for soldiers each 30 feet by 25. We are persuaded that a few Ind^{ns} are observing our motions daily from several circumstances, but we constantly keep a good guard & look out. It is now 9 o'clock p.m. & this moment I received your favour of the 27th ulto. & 2^{d} ins^{t} with the paper, for w^{ch} I am very thankful.

Mr. Burd & I have talked upon the subject respecting the Royal American Regim^{t}, & he did not hesitate a moment, after reading your & my Brother's letters, to say he would chearfully accept of such a Commission as you mention if it may be obtained for him. It would also be very agreeable to me to be fixed in the same Regiment, tho' I don't expect any of our officers (if this Regiment should be broken) will be promoted in that way (except Mr. Burd) which we shall think very hard upon us, because most of us have put ourselves out of the way of other business for the sake of entering into this service.

Mr. Burd writes to you & Neddy by Mr. Croyston this express, by whom the Col^{o} sends his letters to the Gov^{r} informing him of our arrival here &c.

The Col^{o} & Cap^{t} Lloyd desire their Complim^{ts} to you & I would beg mine to all Friends in Lancaster, particularly my love to Mammy, Sister & all our good family. I am with great Esteem.

Sir,

Your very affectionate & dutiful Son

JOSEPH SHIPPEN.

CAMP at SHAMOKIN 13th July 1756.

SIR.

As M^{r} Young the Commissary of Musters will give you money for the Payment of your Company I beg you will stop for me £3, 7, 6, out the Pay of the five Men, mentioned in the inclosed Acco^{t} & agreeable to the several payments I made them, at & after the time of

their Enlistment, which Sums was in part of their Pay. And you may charge them in your Book as so much paid them.

Henry Hown is a servant to George Gier for whom I have engaged to stop half of Hown's Pay, I having an order under Hown's hand for that purpose, I hope therefore you will keep in your hands half his Pay from the time of his enlistment to the Day you pay him up to. Your compliance in this will oblige your Friend & hum^{e} Serv^{t}

JOSEPH SHIPPEN.

To CAP^{T} MATH^{W} MILES, At Fort Halifax.

CAMP at SHAMOKIN 25th July 1756.

HON^{d} SIR.

Your agreeable Fav^{rs} of the 15th & 16th Inst. came to hand 3 days ago. I would have wrote to you by Cap^{t} Lloyd but he did not determine to go by the way of Lancaster till he had got ready to sett off, however, he told me he had left all the Papers, w^{ch} he carried down with him open for your particular perusa^{l}, by w^{ch} you might know the occasion of his going to Philad^{a} & that he might take your Letter about the roan Mare at Fort Halifax, and in Consequence of it spoke to Taffe about her several Times, & at last he told him he had written to his Wife to send you the mare, as he would not chuse to let you have her without his Wife's consent, but we entirely forgot to mention this in our Letters to you, and we thought you must have rec'd the mare, till you informed us of the Contrary in your present Letter. We had a long Conversation with Taffe yesterday about this affair and he assured us that he would ride the Mare down to Lancaster in 2 or 3 days when he would settle the affair with yourself, he says the Mare cost him £25. I am sorry to hear by several persons that the Col^{o} has lost so much Ground in Philad^{a} with regard to his Conduct in the March & Management of the Regiment,

since I am convinced he has acted very prudently in that respect, but as to his Behaviour to his officers I can say nothing, tho' in that he is much complained of here by them. Indeed I cant help saying that I think he has not shewn that Regard to M^r^ Burd, which was due to him in his Station as Major of the Regimen^t^, in not consulting with him upon any Occasion, or acquainting him with his Intentions at any time, but keeping them a Secret from him till he was abo^t^ to put them into Execution. Please to let these hints be sub rosa, as I would not write of them, but for your particular Information on any acco^t^.

We have been going on very briskly with our Works since we have been here so that we have now 7 or 8 Houses nearly finished for Soldiers Barracks, and are compleatly stockaded round our whole Camp, making almost a semi-circle each end of w^ch^ terminates on the River above & below us. The Houses are so situate as to serve for Bastions to defend & flank every part of the Stockade. The finishing of these Works we thought absolutely necessary for our security, till we had erected the Fort & built the Barracks.

Our situation here is extreamly pleasant we have a view up both Branches of the River which with the adjacent Country form a pretty prospect, tho' I must confess it is a little intercepted on the opposite side by the Hill w^ch^ (I think with you) may be some disadvantage to us in our Fort, if the ascent on the other side is so gradual that the French can carry up Cannon or Mortar pieces, but how this is I am yet at a loss to know. But I am very well convinced that neither Muskets nor Rifles can hurt us from that hill.

Last Friday a Detachment of 100 picked Men under Cap^t^ Worke accompanied by Cap^t^ Jameson three Lieu^ts^ & two Ensigns were sent out from hence on a Scout abo^t^ 50 Miles up the West Branch, & I expect their Return the latter End of this Week. I thank you for your Caution to us against venturing too far into the Woods without

a Guard, we all seem sensible of the Danger of it, and therefore do carefully avoid it. Capt M^{c}Kee brot here Indns Tagrea, old Ogaghradariha & 4 Conestogo Indns on Thursday last. I enclose you the Key of the Scrutore in the back Parlour.

July 28th 1756.

Thus far I had gone in my Letter on the 25th when the Colo called me off to write Letters for him to Sir Wm Johnson & Mr Danl Claus of the Indn Ogaghradariha inclosing them his speech to the Colo at the Conference at Armstrongs & the Govrs Answer to it as also the Plans of the Forts Halifax & Augusta. We finished those Letters last night & the old man setts off this Morning with them on his Return to the Mohawks country.

Last Night I was agreeably favoured with Yours of the 21st Inst, and rejoice at the Good News of the Delawares & Shawanese taking up the Hatchet against the French, but I am affraid this wants Confirmation, since we know that they are daily committing acts of Hostilities at this very time upon us along the Frontiers of Cumberland.

I much doubt whether the Governor will pass the Assembly's Bill for a grant of £40,000, as I understand they have clogged it with a Tax on the Proprietor's Lands as they did the former one. But I should be sorry if it don't succeed, because otherwise the Provincial Troops must be disbanded for want of Pay, and the Province left wholly defenceless, at a time when the Encroachments of the Enemy make it necessary for us to collect all our Force against them.

What the Event of Things will be at last, I have not prophetical Spirit sufficient to foretell, But publick affairs at this time don't seem to be carried on with much Unanimity, between His Honour the G——r, Ass——y & Com——r's, who I suppose are at Variance with one another. But I must break off here & only hint that your

own Judgment will lead you to keep private those things I have mentioned that you think ought not to be publick.

The Col° thanks you for Your kind Lett^{r} & desires his Complim^{ts} to You, & frequently says he will absolutely resign his Commission & be in Philad^{a} very soon.

I am with my Love to Mammy, Sister & Brother Neddy (who I imagine will be at Lancaster when this reaches you,) & all the Good Family.

Sir Your affectionate & dutiful son

JOSEPH SHIPPEN J^{r}

P.S. The Party of 100 men returned 2 days ago on Acco^{t} of the great Rains they had, so that they could not effect any thing if they had proceeded.

FORT AUGUSTA 21st Aug^{t} 1756.

DEAR SIR.

On the 19th Inst. in the Evening I had the pleasure to receive three Packetts containing your Letters of the 1st 8th & 14th Inst. with the several News Papers, all which demand my hearty thanks & claim some apology from me.

Your Goodness in writing to me so often, I have made use of to reflect justly upon myself for my neglect in that Respect. But unfortunately for me whenever an opportunity has offered I have always been engaged in writ^{g} Letters for the Col° to the Gov^{r} & others as his Aid de Camp in the Absence of Cap^{t} Lloyd.

Mr. Burd & I made several objections to the Remonstrance which was sent to the Governor, but Cap^{t} Lloyd, by I know not what Arguments, got so much the better of us as to persuade us to sign it w^{ch} we have since often repented of, for my part I never intend to resign my Commission while my Country was in Danger & I had it in my Power to do it any Service. Neither Mr. Burd nor I in the least doubted of the Certainty of our Pay, and indeed we should not have consented to subscribe a Petition for Liberty to resign, but with a view to preserve

Harmony & Friendship with the Col° & the other officers without which no Corps can subsist long to any good purpose.

Your arguments advice on this head in y^r^ long Letter of the 1^st^ Inst. are both just & good & altogether agreeable to the Major & me. And we are determined to observe them with all the Strictness due to the Dictates of a kind Father, to whom We owe the greatest Love. We are sorry we had not an opportunity to consult with you before Cap^t^ Lloyd went to Philad^a^.

We shall not apply for a Furlough till we see that all things are settled upon a good Footing & then if both of us cannot be spared at one time M^r^ Burd will consent to stay here that I may go with you to Philad^a^ in September. As we expect Capt. Lloyd here tomorrow, I shall then be better able to judge of these Things. We take the Barks I bro^t^ with me every morn^g^ & have hitherto escaped all Symptoms of the Fever & Ague. We are glad to hear of the Recovery of Peggy & Billey Allen & hope your Lett^r^ to their Father may meet with the intended Success. I will now give you some Acco^t^ of our Situation since the 1^st^ August.

On the 31^st^ Ulto. having but a small Quantity of Flour in Store, the Col° detached off Lieut. Plunket & a Party of 25 men with ten Battoes to Harris's for a Supply. But we have heard nothing of their Return on the 7^th^ Inst. agreeable to our expectations, at which time we had no more Flour than sufficient to serve the Regiment 2½ Days. We were then under some apprehensions that M^r^ Plunket with the Battoes were beat back or cutt off by the Enemy, from a Report of two men who were sent to hunt for Horses they informed us that they discovered the Tracks of about 30 Ind^ns^ on Mahoney taking a Course from the River up the Creek, about the time we supposed the Battoes were coming up. We feared too, as the River was low & falling, that it would be a long time before we could get a supply of Flour. The Col° therefore in this necessity concluded to keep a Garrison here of only 100

men with a Determination to maintain this Post to the last extremity, and to send the Major with the remainder of the Regiment to Fort Halifax or further down, that they might be in a capacity to support themselves & furnish us with Provisions. But he was happily disappointed of making use of that Expedient, by the Return of the Battoes with 50 Bar^{ls} Flour the next Morning (the 8th Inst) about an hour before the Major was to march.

Of all these things the Col^{o} informed the Gov^{r} by his Lett^{r} dated the 10th Inst.

On the 11th day Cap^{t} Jameson with his whole Company (who are now in Garrison at Fort Halifax) escorted 12 more Battoes to Hunters for another Embarkation of Flour. But on our receiving Intelligence that Fort Granville was taken by 500 French & Indians & that the Enemy were very numerous at Franks Town & coming down with a Design to fall upon us. The Col^{o} imagined they might by this time have posted themselves along the River in order to interrupt our Communication & harass our Provision Battoes, and therefore dispatched a Messenger on the 14th Inst. to Capt. Jameson & ordered him not to suffer the Battoes to venture up, but to remain at Hunters till further orders, and that he should hire some Horses there & load them with Powder, lead, round Shott & other warlike Stores & Rum if those things were arrived at Harris's from Philad^{a}, We having at that time no more Powder than 4 half-Barrels for the whole Regiment & Cannon.

At the same time the Col^{o} wrote to the Gov^{r} of these Transactions & for a supply of ammunition & other necessaries, as he did in his Letter of the 10th & since. T'other Day Cap^{t} Jameson sent us a quarter Cask Powder w^{ch} he bought of Jn^{o} Carson, & kept another for his own Garrison at Halifax. And Yesterday M^{r} Burd rec'd a letter from W^{m} Galbreath Com^{y} at Harris acquainting him that six half Bar^{ls} Powder was arrived there for the Regim^{t}, this gave us new Spirits, for when this Ammuni-

tion comes up, we hope to be able to stand our Ground against any Body of Indians & French that may be expected will attack us. Our Fort being now in great forwardness in a good posture of Defence. Last night 7 or 8 Battoemen on Horseback were sent to Halifax whom (with as many more) Capt Jameson was ordered to send back to escort Capt Lloyd here, but when they had got within 4 miles of McKee's Place they found a man lying in the Road shott & scalped his Scull split open & one of the Provincial Tomahawks sticking in his private parts, we suppose he was sent Express upon here from Capt. Lloyd. The men immediately returned here at noon, to bring us the News, and this afternoon the Colo dispatched a Party of 50 to Halifax for an Escort to Capt Lloyd.

With regards to what you say about transporting Provisions to us on Horseback you'll see we perfectly agree in Sentiments; by the following paragraph out of the Colos Letter of the 14th Inst. to the Govr vizt.

"The present method of supplying this Garrison by water is so uncertain, that some quick Expedient should be fallen upon to engage a number of Pack horses into the Service which may transport our Provisions at all times of the Year by the way of Tulpehocken, or any other that may be thought more convenient. Our Battoes during the Winter season must lay by, so that it will be necessary that three or four months Provisions should be stored up here in the Fall for the support of this Garrison till the Spring." I have not rec'd yr Lettr in wch you say was inclosed along one for the Colo

I here send you the Examination I took of a Young man, who has been among the Indns above six months & made his Escape to this place on the 14th Inst. I have now only to assure you, Mammy Sister & All the Family of Mr Burd's & My Love, & am with Esteem

Sir,

Your affecte & dut. Son

JOSEPH SHIPPEN.

FORT AUGUSTA Septem^{r} 3^{d} 1756.

DEAR SIR.

My last Letter was dated the 23^{d} Ulto. w^{ch} I sent down by the Party of 48 Men that went a few days ago to reinforce Cap^{t} Lloyd's Escort, but they met him about 20 Miles from hence on his way up & brought the Letter back, & I now send it with him. Last Sunday James Pattin a Soldier of my Company & Servant to James Pagan of Martick Township Lancaster Co^{ty} happened to go to a Spring about a mile from the Fort without Arms (contrary to the orders given out) was shott by an Indian through the Body & scalped & his Scull split open in several places by a Tomahawk. Two Parties of 50 men each were immediately sent in pursuit of the Enemy but lost their Tracks on the Mountain, they discovered the Marks where two Indians had been sitting on the side of the Hill in the Bushes about 15 Yards from the Spring.

Every Morning before Sun-rise a Party of 50 Men goes out to reconnoitre the Ground for a mile & a half round the Fort, they take different Routs every time & march at the Distance of 6 or 7 Yards apart & all a Breast in one rank entire, so as to sweep a large space of Ground, they have several Mornings discovered Beds among the Leaves where small parties of Indians have been.

We are of opinion now that the Indians will bend their force towards us & endeavour to interrupt our Communication with the Inhabitants by forming ambuscades for our Parties that escort Provisions. This seems the more probable to us as we have received the disagreeable Intelligence that Cumberland County is wholly evacuated, which has given the Enemy Room to take an entire possession of the River Susquehannah, from whence they may with the more Ease continue their cruel acts of Hostility. We are now in such preparation with our Fort & other Works that I am persuaded we can make a compleat Stand against any Body of French & Indians that may design an attack [upon] us, except they form a

regular Siege with Cannon, provided we are well stocked with Provisions. We have now in Store Flour sufficient to serve the Regiment 16 Days & Beef & Pork enough to last 20 Days, besides three & thirty Head of Cattle. Cap^{t} Lloyd arrived here safe on Wednesday Night & escorted up the Cattle about half the above mentioned Flour, Powder, Lead, granade Shells, and round Shott for the Cannon & 330 of Grape Shott. I informed you in my last of the Quantity of Ammunition we had before this timely supply arrived.

I had the pleasure to receive your Letter of the 6th Aug^{t} (inclos^{g} one to the Col^{o}) & the 17th Idem & thank you for the good news of Admiral Byng's Victory over the French Fleet, w^{ch} I hope will soon be confirmed to us & that Gallissonicre may be rendered incapable of relieving the Duke de Richelieus' Army, if the brave General Blakeney is so fortunate as to oblige them to raise the Siege. All the News Papers to the 12th Aug^{t} are come to hand. I agree with you that it was scandalous thing to leave the Gully near Fort Granville just as Nature left it, for if Cap^{t} Ward had made the right Improvement of the Bank it would have been of great Service to the Garrison rather than the Contrary, he had time enough since March (when M^{r} Burd left that Fort) to have sloped it away in form of a Glacis so that their Arms from the Fort might have had the Command of the Gully & swept away all that attempted to come up the Bank. M^{r} Burd was not long enough there to finish the Fort & do the necessary work at the Bank too. We have a Party of men constantly employed at digging & regulating the Bank of the River at this Fort & in a little time it will be a good Glacis.

I now enclose you a Draught of Fort Augusta & our other Works, w^{ch} I made to'ther Day from actual Mensuration & Survey, which if you please, you may transmit to Cousin Allen as I know from his Regard for the Publick Welfare will give him a satisfaction to see the Progress

made at Shamokin, Our Fort is well built, being made of the largest Logs we could find for a mile round, and neatly Dove tailed at all the Corners, it is now carried up eleven feet & the few other Logs to compleat it will be put up next week the men are now employed in making the Platforms & mounting the Cannon three of w^{ch} are already mounted besides 2 Swivels & 2 Blunderbusses. My Love to Mammy, Sister, Mrs. Gray & All the Family

I am your affectionate & dutiful Son

J. SHIPPEN.

FORT AUGUSTA Sept^{r} 4th 1756.

DEAR SIR.

I am very sorry, to find by your Letter of the 17th Ulto. that M^{r} Burd's & my signing the Paper sent by Col^{o} Clapham & Subalterns to the Governor Gives so much Uneasiness to one of our best Friends Cousin Allen. I must confess we acted a wrong part in doing a thing so contrary to our Judgments, & we have condemned ourselves for it a thousand times. But I have the secret satisfaction to think that neither M^{r} Burd nor myself had the least Intention to give any Affront to our good Friend the Gov^{r} to whom we are both under great obligation for our Promotions, nor am I convinced that either of us in particular have had any reason to make a Complaint of the Commissioners to the Governor. Those Gentlemen never did us any wrong, & if the Col^{o} & the Subalterns have not received as much Pay as they expected, it is no Concern of ours. M^{r} Burd never doubted of the certainty of his Pay as Major, and for my Part I had nothing to receive or expect, for which Reasons I acknowledge we committed a great Fauspas in subscribing our Names to a Remonstrance to the Governor, which nothing could have induced us to contenance in that Manner in the Confusion among the Officers at that time, but the Persuasions of those that originally encouraged it, and a view to preserve a Harmony & Friend-

ship in the Corps. I could mention some particular Matters on this Subject, but Prudence forbids me to trust them to the uncertainty of a Letter in these precarious times. I hope however our Friends in Philad[a] will be good enough to suspend their opinions concerning the Conduct of the Major & Myself, till we have the pleasure to see them in person, when I flatter myself we shall be able to exculpate ourselves in some Measure. We have been ever resolved to stand our Ground while the Regiment is kept up & not to forsake the Cause of the bleeding Country from any Mercenary Motives. I have now only to refer you to my Letters of the 23[d] Ulto. & 4[th] Inst.

And am with much Esteem
Dear Sir
Your dutiful & Affectionate son
JOSEPH SHIPPEN Jr

A Paragraph of my Letter of 3[d] Sep[tr] 1756.

I agree with you that it would not be prudent at this time on several acco[ts] for the Major & me to go to pay you a visit & I shall decline any thoughts of it till we see how the affairs of the Regiment turn out & must be contented with the Expectation of hav[g] the pleasure to see you some time before Winter sets in.

FORT AUGUSTA 24 Sept[r] 1756.

D[r] & HON[d] SIR.

Your Favours of the 22[d] & 31[st] Aug[t] & 5[th] & 9[th] Inst. I received p Major Burd who arrived here safe on Sunday the —— with his Detachment, & escorted up 120 Horse Load of Flour, Ammunition & Stores, when we had only two Barrels of the former remaining for the whole Garrison, we have now in store about 13000 Flour w[ch] will last us three weeks, & 7000 Powder with a good proportion of Lead. When the Major was sent down to Hunters it was imagined he would have found a large

Quantity of Flour there ready for him, but in this he was disappointed the Mill not having been able to grind from the great Scarcity of Water, and was therefore under the necessity of sending for Flour as far as Sam. Scott's & other Mills in Lancaster County. The Inconvenience of procuring it at so great a Distance & hir^{g} an additional number of Horses necessarily delayed the Major longer than he intended, However he succeeded so well as to return in eleven Days after he marched from hence with a supply of Flour far exceeding our Expectations. Notwithstanding all this, the Colonel ordered Capt. Lloyd as soon as the Major arrived to acquaint him that the Col^{o} would not see him, the Major obeyed in not waiting upon him. Lloyd agreed with us that it was very strange Conduct in the Col^{o} to condemn the Major without hearing the Reasons of his Delay or giving him an Opportunity to justify himself. The next day the Col^{o} by the persuasions of Cap^{t} Lloyd sent his Complim^{ts} to the Major & desired his Company to drink a Glass of Wine with him, when the Major fully satisfyed him as to his Conduct in every respect, and the Col^{o} has since shewn more Complaisance to him. I need not tell you I am thankful for your frequent Letters & the Current news you always furnish us with. We were extreamly alarmed at the melancholly acco^{t} of the Loss of Oswego, the most important Fortress to us of any on the frontiers of the middle British Colonies. We live in hopes of hearing still a more favorable acco^{t} of its Garrison, than that they are all put to the Sword except 150, w^{ch} we can hardly credit. I wrote you before of our Situation, and we are still carrying on every thing necessary for our better security with great Briskness. Our Well is finished.

The Day before Yesterday arrived here Dan^{l} M^{c}Mullen & Tho^{s} Moffat who escaped from the Indians 13 days ago on the head Branches of this River, the one was taken prisoner in Decem. —— last from Cap^{t} Hartleys Plantation at the Minisinks by 15 Delaware Ind^{ns}, the

other from the Glass House in N. York Province, they have lived chiefly among the Mohawks, who used them well. River is still as low as ever, so that we are obliged to keep Parties going continually to the Inhabitants to escort our Provisions on Horses, Cap^{t} Saltar will march in a few minutes with a Party of 50 Men to escort up 30 Barrels of Flour left at Hunters by the Major. My love to Mammy & C. if you're in Philad^{a} when this reaches you please to rememb^{r} my Love to Bro^{r}, Sis^{t} Peggy & the Children, & D^{r} Shippen & Family & other Relations.

I am wth Great Esteem

S^{r} Your aff^{e} & dut. Son

J. S.

FORT AUG^{ta} 5th Oct^{r} 1756.

DEAR & HON^{d} SIR.

I received the favour of y^{r} Letter of 18th Ulto. with the Papers giving us the very disagreeable news of the Surrender of S^{r} Philips Castle to the French & the unsuccessful Engagement of Admiral Byng with Gallisomere's Fleet. These things added to our losses, bad Fortune in America must give a severe shock to every true Briton. But I hope Publick affairs will take a more favourable turn & give us better prospect of success for the future. Since I wrote you on the 24th Ulto. The Major & I have enjoyed our healths extremely well, tho' I must confess we have not been so happy in respect to the C——'s Behaviour towards us. The great Coldness & Indifference he has shewn lately convinces us of his want of Friendship for us, and we cannot conceive the reason for it, as I am conscious that we have always endeavoured to shew that Respect & obedience w^{ch} is due to a Commanding Officer. The aid de camp has acted the same part & the cause of it is equally inconceivable.

The Col^{o} (hav^{g} received a Letter from His Honour the Gov^{r} as I am informed) will march in a few minutes

with sixty men to meet the Gov^{r} at Carlisle, Cap^{ts} Lloyd & Hambright, & Lieut^{s} Clayton & Clapham accompany the Col^{o} I cannot add more than our Loves to all at Home.

Your very dutiful & affection^{e} Son
JOSEPH SHIPPEN.

FORT AUGUSTA 22^{d} Octo^{r} 1756

D^{r} & HON^{d} SIR.

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the Rec^{t} of y^{e} Fav^{rs} of the 10th & 16th Ins^{t} with the Papers & Atlee's Letter with the Cannister & other things Mammy was so kind to send me for w^{ch} I return her thanks. Sally mentioned in M^{r} Burd's Letter that my woosted Stockings were sent up p Jones but he says they were not delivered to him. I cannot now write at large to You, as Cap^{t} Young the Pay Master &C. is here, who keeps us very busily employed about our Muster-Rolls & payment of our Companies. He returns thro' Lancaster & can give you all the news we have here with respect to the Indians & French Design against us. The Engineer Mr. Meyer is also with us. He is a very pretty Gentleman, he is drawing a regular plan of this Fort, which is to be made Cannon proof & will leave Directions with the Col^{o} how it is to be executed. He returns with Cap^{t} Young who has behaved very respectfully & friendly to the Major & me. The Soldiers at Hunters Fort owe me £5., 8., 6. for Money I advanced them. I have desired Cap^{t} Young to stop the same out of their Pay & leave it with You as he passes thro' Lancaster. When you receive that money, please to lay it out to purchase the follow^{g} things for me viz^{t} as much scarlet Broad Cloth & trimmings & plain double Gilt Buttons as will make me a Waist coat, a pair of neat Shoes with the grain side out & long Quarters, & four pair of fine white woosted Stockings for M^{r} Burd & me, if the money will go as far. Jo. Wood in

Philad[a] used to sell such Stock[gs] at 10 p pair, please to send me up the long gun, a few Potherbs for Broth, & my Skates with new Straps, as I may have an opportunity of a little Exercise on the Ice this Winter.

The Major & I long to pay you a Visit, but the intelligence we lately received that the French & Ind[ns] from Fort DuQuesne design'd an attack upon us, prevents us from applying for a furlough least we might incur Reflections. The Col[o] returned from Carlisle last Sunday, but he has thought fit to keep every thing a secret that happened there by the Gov[r] &c. so that if any Expedition is proposed by the Government this Fall (as Jno. Harris tells me he heard) we are entirely unacquainted with it as yet. Cap[t] Busse came here two days with his Company of 50 men p the Gov[r's] Orders, to reinforce this Garrison. Cap[t] Young & the Engineer sett off tomorrow morn[g] early on their return to Philad[a].

My kind love to Mammy, Sally, Mrs. Gray, Miss Patty & all the Children &c. & Brother Neddy who I suppose will be at Lancaster when this reaches you, I should be glad of a Line from him giving the news of the present State of the Governments affairs with respect to the Provincial Troops & their Destination this Fall.

I am with Esteem

Your very Affect[e] & dutif[l] Son

JOSEPH SHIPPEN J[r]

FORT AUGUSTA Dec[r] 1756.

DEAR & HON[d] SIR.

Three days ago I had the pleasure of your Letter inclosing the History of Rebellion & Papers.

I am now agreeable to my promise in my last Letter to give you some particulars of our March. On Tuesday noon the 30[th] Ult[o] we left Hunters & proceeded with 17 Battoes very little more than half loaded with Flour, Salt & Rum, as far as the Narrows, where we were obliged

to halt that we might get the Battoes one by one thro' the Falls, and this we met with inconceivable Difficulty, as the Men were under the Necessity of wading to hawl the Battoes up between the Rocks, & tho' all possible Industry was used it was an hour & a half after Sunset before we got them over the Falls, one of them, in the attempt was dashed all to pieces against the Rocks by the Rapidity of the Water & four Barrels of Rum left floating in the River, we however got them safe ashore & the Major sent down to Hunters for another Battoe to take them in & encampet that Night in the Narrows with a Party & the Battoes under their cover. He hav^{g} sent me to Hunters to send the Col^{o} an acco^{t} of our Situation p Express.

On Wednesday the 1st Dec^{r} we proceeded 10 Miles & encampt at Night at Reeds place 4 miles from Fort Halifax, but the Battoes were taken to an island opposite to us, the Shoalness of the Water not permitting them to come ashore near our Party. The next Day we arrived at Fort Halifax about 10 o'clock where we had a Reinforcement of 20 men, our Party then consisted of 50 besides 60 men that worked in the Battoes. Here we crossed the River & landed on the West side in the beginning of the afternoon & hav^{g} proceeded about 3 miles it grew to dark & cold to get any further, we therefore struck up fires & encampt in the Woods. On Friday the 3^{d} Inst. the Battoe men met with so much Difficulty in working thro' Berry's Falls, that it became Night when we arrived at Barber's Place, tho' we had got no further than 6 miles, and the Battoes being made fast we encampt along side of them. In the Morning the River was full of Ice & the Battoes surrounded with it, however after some time we cut our way thro' & proceeded as well as we could as far as M^{c}Kees Falls, w^{ch} we found altogether impassable on acco^{t} of the vast Increase of Ice & rapidity & Shoalness of Water. As it began then to snow & continued to be extreamly cold, we had rea-

son to believe the River would be quite fast before Morning, the Major therefore determined to cross the River with the Battoes & Party, but we did not effect this without much fatigue, it being quite dark & we obliged to fall down with the Ice above a mile in order to get around the Island & we landed all at M^{c}Kee's Place about 9 o'clock Saturday night & encamp't at the Foot of the Mountain without any shelter. On Sunday morning we found it impossible to move the Battoes till the River should clear of Ice, & therefore acquainted the Col^{o} p Express with our Situation that we might have some Relief (we having no meat left for 110 Men) as we were determined to stay with the Party to guard the Provisions & Battoes. On Monday Col^{o} Clapham came from Fort Augusta to our Camp on his way to Philad^{a}, he told us that Cap^{t} Jameson with all the Horses was on his march to our Relief, & that as soon as we had got them loaded with part of the Cargo we should escort them to Fort Augusta & leave Ens^{n} Scott with a Party to Guard the Battoes & the remainder of the Provisions. On Tuesday at 10 o'clock Cap^{t} Jameson arrived with 50 Horses, & the rest of this day we employed the men in preparing the loads & hawling the Battoes up, this morning the River was quite fast every where. On Wednesday we marched & arrived at Fort Augusta at 12 o'clock at night. Notwithstanding the Major & I had slept in the Woods eight or nine severe nights, we caught not the least cold nor received the least Injury to our Health.

The Horses & 4 Battoes have since bro^{t} safe here the remainder of our Cargoe.

The Major has now ordered all the Battoes to be taken down to Hunters & has sent a party to make another Trip with them if the River should fortunately continue open & high as it is at present.

When I saw the Battoes (on our March) pushing up with so much Difficulty thro' the Ice coming down with violence upon them. Your French Dialogue between Le

Sieur Durnas Commd^{t} du Fort du Quesne & son Espion Mons^{r} Betran came frequently into my mind. I should be glad to have a Copy of it, as I esteem it a good Composition & it gave me pleasure when I curisorily read it.

I am with Love to the Family &c
Your dutiful & Affect^{e} Son
JOSEPH SHIPPEN.

FORT AUGUSTA 1st Jan^{y} 1757

DEAR & HON^{d} SIR.

I was favoured with your Affectionate Letters of the 9th & 23^{d} Ulto. with News papers & Copies of C——^{t} J——n's 3 Letters, concerning which I shall observe your particular Caution, tho' he had shewn them to me before he sent them away, that I might give him my advice w^{ch} he pursued by sending the Gov^{rs} Letter under cover to Yourself & M^{r} Allen. . . .

I observe what you say concerning a "*certain Great man.*" I have been told he is too much so to live in this Province & therefore he is advised by Gent^{n} in Philad^{a} both for the good of himself & the publick Service to return to N. England & sett up a useful Trade he was taught of making convenient Machines of a black Colour to keep the Head warm & the Sun from blinding the Eyes, I should be glad to hear whether he has pursued their salutary advice.

The man who carries this is just setting off, I have only to wish you, my kind Mammy, Sister & All round the Table a very happy new Year & hope I may have the Satisfaction to wish you all the same many Years to come.

M^{r} Burd desires his Complim^{ts} of the Season to you & Family.

I am with very great Esteem
Y^{r} affec. & dutiful Son
J. SHIPPEN.

FORT AUGUSTA 19th Janry 1757

Dr & hond. SIR.

Yesterday I was favoured with your agreeable Letters of the 27th Dec. 10th & 12th Inst. inclosing the Papers which are always very acceptable, as Nobody gives himself the trouble to send any to this remote part of the World but yourself.

I am sorry to find the Govr & Assembly have commenced a Quarrel, but I would fain hope it will not subsist as I suppose the Matter in Dispute concerng the Quartering of the Kings Troops may by this time be settled. It would be very unfortunate indeed for this distressed Province if a Difference in opinion between the Legislative Powers about a particular Thing should again extend to any future Matters that may be concerting for the Publick Welfare so as to create a continued Disagreement, I have the charity to think the Contrary. The Consequences of such Quarrels have been fatal to us for the last 2 or 3 years. I am grieved to hear that there will be no Militia Law. I am of opinion that a proper one equally binding upon all Men to take up Arms in defence of their Country should have been in full force last Spring that the Provincial Troops which were then raised might have had an opportunity of distressing the Enemy in their own Country, while the Militia should garrison the Forts on our Frontiers. It is however possible this may be done still, if proper measures are taken. . . .

Mr Burd, Capt Jameson, & Lieut Clarke of the Major's Company all obtained Furloughs from the Colo before he went from hence to commence the 16th Inst & are to set off this Evening for Philada & they intend to pay You a Visit on their Way down. I shall be sorry at their Departure, because they are the best Acquaintances we have here. The two latter will not continue in the Regiment if a *certain Man* should return to it, and I believe a few others will incline to follow their Example. I am very thankful to my good Brother for the Care he has

taken in send^{g} to England for the Sword & Books I desired, & he may be assured that due returns of Brotherly Affection shall never be wanting in me.

I have only now to express my Love to my good Mammy in the kindest manner & conclude with the Remembrance of the same to Sister, Mrs. Gray, Miss Patty & every individual round the Table.

I am with a sincere esteem
S^{r} Your affectionate & dutiful
Son
JOSEPH SHIPPEN J^{r}

FORT AUGUSTA 9th Feb^{y} 1757.

DEAR & HON^{d} SIR.

I wrote you a few Lines on the 25th Ulto. since which none of your Favours have yet reached me, tho' I suppose some of them are laying at Harris's for want of an opportunity as the late Snows, cold weather have prevented our Party with the Battoes from coming up. But as the River is now quite open I expect they will be here in three or four Days, when I flatter myself I shall be honoured with a Letter & the news from you. I am sorry to tell you that the two Conestogo Indians sent up sometime ago by M^{r} Croghan to the Ohio returned here last Thursday on the 3^{d} Inst. without proceeding further up the West Branch of this River than about 40 or 50 Miles after having been gone from hence 7 days. I suppose they had some very important Message to deliver (perhaps) to the Delawares & Shawanese as they shewed me a large Belt of Wampum they were to carry with them. They say they found the Snow so deep & the Weather so severe that it was impossible for them to proceed on their Journey.

They are to set off this Morning on their Return to Conestogo after their arrival there they say they intend to see M^{r} Croghan.

I am surprized that none of the Officers of this Regiment who were on furlough are yet returned here, as the Times limited some of them must have been expired long before this. This makes the Duty the harder on the few who are present, there being now in this Garrison only the Major, Adjutant & Surgeon, with five other Officers who do Duty and there are two Officers, on Party. The other fourteen are on Furlough excepᵍ three at Fort Halifax & Hunter.

The 2 Indians brought the Major & me t'other Day three Bucks, killed about a mile from the Fort, which furnished the officers with a little fresh Provisions, a thing very rare to be seen among us, tho' we sometimes get a few Squirrels of which we make good Soup. The Officers have enjoyed their Health very well this Winter, tho' Fluxes frequently prevail among the Soldiers, two of them have died within these six Days.

This Part of the World is too remote to furnish any News. I shall therefore only conclude in my usual Manner with my kindest Love to Mammy, sister & all the good Family, the remembrance of which being so justly due to them, that no Critick can with least propriety censure me for Tautology tho' I repeat My Expressions of affection to them ever so frequent in my Letters, or that Esteem with which I always am. Dʳ Sir

Your Dutiful & very Affectionate Son

Joseph Shippen Jʳ.

Fort Agusta 22ᵈ Febʸ 1757.

Dear & honᵈ Sir.

I wrote you four Days ago just to acknowledge the Recᵗ of three of your agreeable Letters & to inform you of the Arrival of 15 Battoes with Flour &c. of wᶜʰ Article we have now in Store 23549ˡᵇˢ and 35583ˡᵇ of Beef & 2167ˡᵇ of Pork. A Party of Men are to set off to Morrow Morning with 10 Battoes to bring up another Parcel of Flour from Fort Halifax, the River & Weather being now

very favorable. We cannot at this time man more than that Number, as several of the Soldiers are sick & lame, and the Major is ordered by Col° Clapham to hold in Readiness a Detachment of a hundred Men with two Captains, two Lieutenants, two ensigns, four Sergeants & four Corporals, to march immediately upon Receipt of Col. Armstrongs orders to join his Battalion for the Defence of Cumberland County against an attack which is expected on that Quarter very early in the Spring. The Party is now in readiness with 40 Rounds of Powder, Ball & Buck Shott, & the Major only waits for Col° Armstrong's Orders to march them, w^ch^ I suppose will be here in 2 or 3 days, that Gent^n^ having wrote to the Major that he intended to send for the Party as soon as he had received an Answer from the Governor to his Letter of the 28^th^ Ulto. I have the pleasure to inform you I shall have the Command of that Detachment. I shall write you further on this Head when I receive orders to march

I am well pleased to hear that so many more Troops are arrived & expected from Europe, this seems to be preparatory to some grand Military operations the ensuing Summer God Grant that we may have success in all our just Enterprizes. I think my Brother gives a very political & good Reason why the Scheme of M^r^ F—— for raising £100,000 ought not to be encouraged. I hope however, our Assembly will immediately fall upon some good Method for raising that Sum for the Service of the Current Year. I intend in a day or two to frame a Letter of Thanks to M^r^ Leake for his kind Expressions of Regards for me which I shall send in one to You under Cover to M^r^ Croghan to whom I desire my Compliments when you see him.

M^r^ Clayton who is my Lieutenant and Adjutant to the Regiment, will deliver you this, as I have desired him to call & see You on his way to Philad^a^, he is a Young fellow of a very good Spirit & has always performed his Duty with great activity & Diligence, I have him much in

Esteem, he will make no Stay in Lancaster. Major Burd is busy in making up his monthly Returns to the Col° & cant write you at this time, but desires to join with in Love to Mammy, Sister & all round the Fireside. I am with Esteem

Dear Sir

Your Affectionate & dutiful Son

JOSEPH SHIPPEN Jr

FORT AUGUSTA 4th March 1757.

DEAR & HONd SIR. Friday—

On Sunday last your agreeable Favours of the 14th, 19th & 21st Ulto. inclosg the Papers came to hand at the same time rec'd the Bullet Molds they cast Balls of a right size, but not so smooth as I desired, but our Armourer has altered that Defect. I take particular notice of your good advice about the method of living, we have in a great Measure pursued it by avoiding as much as possible to eat salt Meat & substituting in the Room of it, peas, porrage Clam Soup, pan-cakes as often as the Col°'s Hens lay Eggs, which would either spoil or be taken by the Soldiers if we did not use them, added to this, we have now & then had a few Squirrels, Turkeys, Rabits & Venison & always plenty of good Butter, Tea, Chocolate & Coffee, and I have pleasure to tell you that Croyston sent us p. the last Battoes agreeable to the Majors order a Barrel of exceeding good Indian Meal of wch we have had mush 2 or 3 times, & intend to eat it three times a Week for the future, wch is as often as we can spare Milk for the purpose as we give every Officer a little for his Tea & the province Cow does not yield much now.

I am sorry Report that Capt Jameson was Lunatick should have prevailed in Philada the Author of it certainly can gain nothing by such false Art to exculpate himself, nor will it be pleasing to submit to Interrogation from a Lieut. Col°.

It gives me pleasure to hear of the intended Congress of Lord Loudoun & the several Governors of the Southern Provinces at Philad[a]. I hope some noble plan of operation will be concerted for the Summer's Campaign. I don't know what small Part we shall act in the general Scene of War, I am apprehensive if we attempt to personate Soldiers in the field, we shall soon be hissed off the Military Stage. The Reason for this opinion is the Times for w[ch] the Soldiers of the Regiment enlisted are now expiring every Day and they seem all determined not to serve this Province any longer as they have not been regularly paid, so that if we have any Regiment at all next Year, it must consist of raw men unacquainted with Discipline and obedience to Command.

The Major has orders from the Col° to send to Col° Weiser for 100 Men from his Battalion to Garrison this Fort, if our Soldiers should refuse to continue in the service.

On Saturday at noon the 26[th] Ulto. our Cart was sent for Stores ½ mile from the Fort with a Corporal & 7 men to guard them & while they were loading it, the 2 Centrys w[ch] the Corporal had posted on a Hill, were fired at by a Party of Indians three or 4 Shott, upon which the Corporal ordered his men to stand to their Arms, & they immediately took them from under the Log where they had placed them to be kept dry, but very unfortunately on Examination they were found wet, it having snowed all Day. Their arms being thus rendered useless, they were obliged to retire to the Fort, and looking behind them before they had gone 20 yds. they saw 6 Indians coming down the Hill in close pursuit after one of the Centries & very soon after 4 of the Indians fired at him & then, when the Centry fell, & the Indians fearing to come too near the Fort halted & scalped him & made the best of their way to the Hill again, where the other Centry was shot & scalped. By this time a Party of 40 men & three officers met the Corporal & his Men returning, for

as soon as we heard the first firing, Major Burd detached off that Party to their support if attacked, they had no sooner got out of the cleared Ground into the Woods, but the Indians thought it imprudent to receive them & so took to their heels, they followed their Tracks about a mile in the Snow, & not being able to overtake them returned to the Fort with the dead Bodies. The Major then sent off Cap^{t} Trump & Ensigns Broadhead & Allison with 55 of the best men with orders to pursue the Enemys Tracks as we imagined they might find their Encampment before the next Morning. The Party marched on their Tracks till Midnight up the North East Branch 15 miles, but as it continued to snow & rain all Night & the enemy had at least two Hours the advantage of them & several of the Men giving out with the fatigue of the March over several Hills, they concluded it imprudent to proceed further, & returned here at 10 o'clock Sunday Morn^{g}

In the afternoon 4 Conestoga Ind^{n} Men & one Woman arrived here & the next Day proceeded on their Journey with a Message from M^{r} Croghan to some Ind^{ns} on the Ohio. I am with M^{r} Burd's & My Love to Mammy, Sister & all the Good Family, The same also to Brother Neddy & Sister Peggy & the little children. D^{r} & h^{d} Sir

Your very affectionate & dutiful Son

Joseph Shippen.

Fort Augusta 17th March 1757

D^{r} & hon^{d} Sir.

Last night I was favoured with y^{r} 3 very Loving Letters of y^{e} 26th Ulto. & 2 others of the 3 Inst. dated at Harris Ferry. I return you many Thanks for so great a mark of your Affection in riding up to Susquehannah with an Expectation of seeing me on my way to Carlisle. I am very sorry you were disappointed. Be pleased to make my Thanks acceptable to my good Mammy for her kind Inclination to come up also with the same affectionate

View. The Major has not yet received Orders from Col° Armstrong to send off the Detachment of 100 Men, tho' he wrote to the Major a fortnight ago that he had not yet rec'd a Letter from the Govern^r in answer to one he wrote him relating to a supply of Horses, which are absolutely necessary for Troops marching through an uninhabited Country. Whenever we march I imagine our Route will be across the Country by the way of Fort Granville & Shirley to Fort Littleton, we shall then cross Juniata upon a Raft which we can make in a short time. But I must observe that the march of the Detachment from this Regiment has been so long delayed that it will be to no purpose to send it off at all now, as we cannot pick out a 100 Men whose Times of Enlistment will not be expired in a week or two without we leave this Fort ungarrisoned. The Soldiers who are now free & will be free this Month have consented to continue here no longer than the 1^st^ of April, neither would they have done that had not the Major publickly represented to them on the Parade the ill consequences of leaving the King's Fort erected at Expence to guard an important pass without a Garrison & also assured them that he would grant them a Certificate of them hav^g^ served till the 1^st^ of April, & a Liberty to go where they pleased. Sunday last arrived here the Indian Fleet from the Six Nation Country consisting of 15 Canoes & 5 Battoes, and as near as I can collect from Lewis Montour & Jo. Peepy, the Number of the different Nations are as follows, viz^t^

Men		
21	Tuscaroras	4 of the Six Nations.
13	Cayugas	
12	Onoyuts	
7	Onondagoes	
9	Nanticokes	
8	Delawares	
70	Men besides about 30 Women & Children.	

They seem all to be fast friends to the English & say they are

come to wipe the Tears from our Eyes that we may see clear that they are our Friends, they are to sett off this Moment for Harris Ferry where they are to hold a Treaty with M^{r} Croghan. I might mention several things abo^{t} them but have not time.

My love to all &c.

J. SHIPPEN

FORT AUGUSTA 18th March 1757.
Friday Morn^{g} 9 o'clock.

DEAR & HON^{d} SIR.

I did myself the pleasure to write to you yesterday Morning at 10 o'clock, at which Time a hundred of our Friends the six nations &c. set off in Battoes & Canoes for Harris's Ferry. And I have the pleasure to inform you that last night 40 more of our friends Indian of the 6 Nations with old Scarroyadej arrived here in 2 Battoes & 3 Canoes, they were sent by Sir W^{m} Johnson under the care of William Printey who speaks the Mohawk Language well. He tells me they set out from Sir Wm'^{s} the 2^{d} Inst. & that the News there at that time was, that Sir John S^{t} Clair was made Governor of N. York, & that Sir Charles Hardy Rear Admiral of the blue had the Command of 30 Sail of Men of War which it was expected would block up the River S^{t} Lawrence very soon. The Indians are to sett off immediately to go to Harris's Ferry to the Treaty which will be a great one, as Printey expects more Indians down here in a day or two. We are inform'd by these Indians as well as those who set off yesterday, that the French at Fort DuQuesne have been forming an Expedition to take this Fort & that it is expected by the Indians on this River, that a body of 800 French & Indians will be here in a very short time; as they are now actually making a number of Canoes at the head of the West Branch of this River. I suppose they mean at Shingleclamoucke. They are all confident that this piece of News is true. We shall

however prepare ourselves in the best manner we can to give them a proper Reception tho' I am sorry to say we have at present on the spot but 190 effective besides the sick & a Party of 30 or 40 Men below with the Battoes. Our Ditch & Parapet are yet unfinished, neither of them could be touched in the Winter season. We have begun to dig in the Ditch this morning & to heighten the Parapet by throwg up the Dirt & pounding it. If we are attacked, we shall want more Ammunition.

I remember to have seen in your Counting Room an old Folio Book much torn, which treats (among other things) of Fortification & the Art of Gunnery, I should be glad if you'd send it up to me, as I can pick out of it several things for my information, especially the method of filling Granade Shells & making the Fuzes, we have a parcel of them here unfilled, & therefore useless. The Major writes this p opportunity to the Governor to acquaint him with the above mentioned News & our Situation. He joins with Me in Love to Mammy, Sister & all the Family.

I am with great Esteem hond Sir

Your very affectionate & dutiful Son

JOSEPH SHIPPEN.

FORT AUGUSTA 28th March 1757.

Dr & Hd SIR. Monday.

Last Thursday the Revd Mr Steel Chapl, the Captns Lloyd & Jameson Lieutns Clarke, Clapham & Miles & Ensns Morgan & Graydon arrived here with seven Batteaux containing thirty-one Barrels of Flour & some Stores for the Officers at which time I was favoured with your Letters of the 11th & 17th Inst. inclosing my Silver Buckle, I observe you don't acknowledge the Receipt of my Letters of the 4th & 11th Inst. wch went down in a Canoe with John Boham when I sent my Buckle. Capt Jameson tells me John Harris gave them to the Post

with the Majrs Letter to Mr Croghan, perhaps he has taken them to Philada. There are some infamous Persons in the Province who make a practice of intercepting Letters & breaking the Seals, several of the officers having of late rec'd their Letters opened. Capt Lloyd says the Colo has rec'd but two Letters from the Major, tho' the latter has written him twelve since his absence. My Last to you were dated the 17th & 18th Inst. Lieut Clarke informs me that Colo Armstrong instead of sendg for the Detachment of 100 Men intends to send a Reinforcement to this Garrison. Colo Weiser writes to the Major that he has sent all his Soldiers whose times were not expired to Colo Armstrong, but that he will notwithstanding endeavour to muster up a Company of 50 Men to reinforce us.

I hope my Lord Loudoun will settle the Differences between the Legislative Powers that there may be Money to pay all the Troops in the Province Service, there is great Dissatisfaction among them throughout, on account of their not having received any Pay these six months, and few or none can be presuaded to enlist again. I imagine when the money Bill is passed most of the Officers of this Regiment will receive Instructions to recruit their Companys, if so, I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you some time this spring. I have reason to think the Colonel will never return to Fort Augusta. He has ordered his Son to sell all his Stores here & then to go directly to Philada

I thank you for the Pamphlet sent me, tho' I had read it before. I am sorry to hear of the Behaviour of the Nassau Students & hope they will reform their Manners, it grieves me to think that Curruption should so soon creep into a fine Seminary of Learning.

I am with love to Mammy & Sister &c.

Most affectionately Dr Sir

Your very dutiful son

Joseph Shippen Jr

P.S. Capt Lloyd told the Major & me just now that the Colo would continue in the Service no longer than till the affairs of the Regimt were settled, but he believed he would be at Fort Augusta before he resigned.

FORT AUGUSTA 18 April 1757

DEAR & HONd SIR.

I had the pleasure to receive Your Favours of the 20th & 26th Ulto. p. Capt Young who arrived here with Capt Patterson & his Company which the Govr ordered to reinforce this Garrison, & we daily expect the arrival of 75 more men from Colo Weiser's Battalion, of whom we stand in much need. As 100 of our Men whose times are expired were discharged when the Pay Master left us, & the few others we have remaining in the Regiment who will be free soon are falling sick with the Scurvy every day, there being 60 now ill with it & incapable of doing any Duty.

I intended to have wrote you p Capt Young but the prodigious Hurry in his Business with us prevented me. He brought up about £2300.—wch was all that remained in the Loan Office but as that Sum was not sufficient to pay the Officers & Soldiers above three Months Pay (there being 6 Months Pay due) We unanimously agreed not to receive any pay this Time but wait till the Pay-Master came up again, so that the money might go the further towards paying the Soldiers off, by which means they received pay for four months instead of three.

As to what you say relating to the Major's not writing to the Governor I am sure he is entirely justifiable in his Conduct. Colo Clapham in his written Instructions positively ordered him to write to him p all opportunities to acquaint him with all occurences & to send him a Report & State of the Garrison & Returns of the Stores &c every Month. This then the Major has constantly complied with since he has had the Command here, so

that the Governor might easily be acquainted with every thing relating to this Regiment thro' the Colonel, who was the only proper person to inform Him, and if the Colonel did not do his Duty while he was in Philad[a] the fault ought not to be imputed to the Major or any body else here. It might indeed be justly said that the Major's Conduct was strange, if he had sent his Letters & Returns to the Governor from whom he had no Orders, & omitted to send them to Colonel Clapham, who alone gave him instructions & had the immediate Care & Charge of the Regimental Affairs. Indeed if he had done so the Col[o] would have immediately put him under an Arrest for Disobedience of Orders. Wherefore when The Major sent an Express to M[r] Croghan agreeable to his Desire to inform him as agent of Indian affairs of the Arrival of the six Nation Indians at this Fort, w[ch] as you justly observe was the chief Business of that Express, he at the same time wrote to Col[o] Clapham of this & a full relation of the story of the 2 Soldiers that were killed by a party of Indians & our pursuing them Miles over the Hills, it was there fore unnecessary to trouble the Governor with Letters on this head as the Colonel was present in Philad[a] & might easily have shown him the Major's Letter if he had been pleased to do as he ought.

The Reason of the Major's writing to the Governor afterwards concerning the Intelligence we received of the French Designs against this Fort was because we understood from Lieut. Clapham that his Father was gone towards N. York to meet Lord Loudoun. Neither was it judged prudent to write that Intelligence till the 2[d] & 3[d] Party of Indians who came here confirmed what the first had told us, as it might probably have occasioned a useless Alarm. The Major received Cap[t] Young, a Letter & Instructions from the Governor acquainting him that all necessary Stores & Ammunition will be sent up here immediately, & giving him some very good Directions how to act in Case we are attacked.

He has wrote fully to the Gov^{r} by Cap^{t} Young & sent him the Regimental Returns & a Copy of his last Letter to Col^{o} Clapham, with his Reasons as an apology for not writing to him while the Col^{o} Continued in the service.

On the —— Inst. the Major sent Capt. Patterson & 10 of his best Woodsmen to reconnoitre the Heads of the West Branch & to gain Intelligence of the Motions of the Enemy in consequence of the Indian Reports, & the Governors Orders to him to send out some trusty Scouts for that Purpose. We expect Cap^{t} Pattersons Return in a Week or 10 Days but the Intelligence he may bring must be kept secret, at least till the Governor is acquainted with it.

I am with love to Mammy Sister & all the good Family

Your very affectionate & Dutiful Son

JOSEPH SHIPPEN

FORT AUGUSTA April 24^{d} 1757.

D^{r} SIR.

Sometime ago I was favoured with your Letter of the 15th Feb^{y} p M^{r} Allen Gillespie to whom the Major & myself promised our countenance & Encouragement in Consequence of your Recommendation of him. And at the same time I advised him to be careful in the observance of all Orders, which the Commanding Officer is at some particular times under the Necessity of giving out, to restrain all Persons from selling any Liquors to the Soldiers, many of whom will continually get drunk & be rendered incapable of Duty, unless the Sutlers are under some Restrictions. And I am sorry to say he has been too imprudent in not following that advice & acting agreeable to his own Promises. Perhaps if you were to advise him it might not be amiss. However the Major is now determined never to suffer any more Rum to be sold in this Garrison while he has the Command. He will not prevent any Person from Selling as much dry

Goods as they please or any other Necessaries (excepting Spirituous Liquors) wch the Soldiers may have occasion for.

I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you & my other Lancaster Friends some time next Month, as I suppose we shall soon receive orders to recruit the Regiment, wch consists at present of only 183 Men, 126 whereof will be free by the 1st of May & the remaining 57 in a Week or two after. Notwithstandg all the Arguments used by Major Burd & the rest of the Officers, not more than thirty of the men could be persuaded to enlist again. Our Garrison has been very sickly these three Months owing to the want of fresh Provisions & Vegetables. The Flux and Scurvy have chiefly prevailed among them. Our Hospital has been removed twice to Hunters Fort for the Recovery of the Sick. My Complimts to Mrs Thompson Mrs Ross & Mr Ross & all my good Friends in Lancaster I am Sir

Your Friend & very hume Servt

JOSEPH SHIPPEN.

To Dr ROBERT THOMPSON in Lancaster.

FORT AUGUSTA 23d April 1757.

Dr & hond SIR.

Your very agreeable Favours of the 28th Ulto & 3d & 5th Inst with the Water Melon Seeds came to Hand 3 days ago. The Boxes of Garden Seeds wch Mr Bard sent will come up p the Battoes which we daily expect the River being now fallen, when I also hope to receive the Scarlet &c you were so kind to send & the Sugar & Spirits. Your long Paragraph of great Humour concerning Clapham pleased me much & put the Major & myself into an excessive fit of laughter, that Gentleman if I may be allowed the Expression, has the offer of the Command of Fort Wm. Henry & all the Provincial Forces of the Northward from Lord Loudoun, if what Capt. Lloyd

asserts be true, but I have not implicit Faith sufficent to be of his opinion. I dare say if Col° Armstrong has the Command of this Regiment he will merit the Esteem of the Officers here, but I imagine he would rather continue where he is at 17/6 p Diem & be with his Family, than be confined to Fort Augusta with 20/. I am glad to hear of the great Augmentation of Forces in my Lord Loudoun's Army. I hope he will finish some Glorious Campaign this Year & convince the French that true Britons will never yield their valuable possessions in America. I cant guess at the Manner of the March of Col° Stanwix's Battalion to our Frontiers unless an Expedition is to be formed against Fort DuQuesne, if not, perhaps they are designed particularly for the Defence of this Province, in that case, I think 200 or 250 of them should be ordered to Garrison this Fort, till we could recruit our Regiment, which now consists only of 183 Men, 126 whereof will be free by the 1st of May, & the remainder in a fortnight after. I don't include Capt Works Company at Fort Halifax because I don't know the State of it.

The Reinforcement we expected form Col° Weiser is not yet arrived here neither do I suppose it will come, as his Battalion is in the same situation with our Regiment. The times for which his Soldiers engaged being all nearly expired. The Major received a Letter t'other day from the Govr & he expects another p the Battoes in answer to that which he sent p Capt Young acquainting him with the state of the Regiment. He has also received a very genteel & friendly Letter from Mr Richd Peters, wherein he tells the Major that he will promote his Interest, Ease & Satisfaction to the utmost of his Power, & that he stands well with the Governor.

I have the pleasure to tell you that we have removed our Quarters into the House which Clapham took so much pains about for himself & that we enjoy Ease & Comfort, the fruits of his Labour. I should be glad to know whether the Sword & Books upon Fortification & Military Dis-

cipline which my Bro^{r} was pleased to get Cousin T. Willing to send for are arrived from England.

I have deferred writing to Mr. Leake till I have the pleasure of seeing you as I suppose M^{r} Croghan will not return to N. York before that time. My kind love to Mammy &c—&c.

I am with the sincerest Esteem
D^{r} Sir
Your very affectionate
& dutiful son
JOSEPH SHIPPEN.

M^{r} Steel our Chaplain acts to the Satisfaction of all the Officers & very justly deserves their Respects.

LANCASTER 20th May 1757.

D^{r} SIR.

I could not possibly write any thing to You till now, as we have not been able to finish our Business with the Gov^{r} & Commissioners before. Inclosed is a Copy of the Gov^{rs} Beating Instructions and I have given one to each Officer agreeable to his Directions. The 5 Commissioners who are present cannot consent to allow us any Recruiting Expences without a full Board & they assure us when they go to Philad^{a} they will take that Matter into Consideration & I believe will allow us something, they have given us £25, each to recruit with for the present, as they have but little Cash with them & will supply us with more whenever we shall draw upon them, they cannot spare more at present, as they have not much Cash with them. They insist that all the Troops (except 300 in Garrison) shall be employed for the future in scouting & ranging as Act of Assembly directs, as they cannot otherwise pay them agreeable to Law. I have £25 to give as soon as I see you, but if you intend to go by the way of Reading you can be supplied with Money at Philad^{a} & then I suppose I may divide that be-

tween the Capts Work & Jameson & Mr Clarke & as it will be more inconvenient for them to get a supply of Money than for those Officers that recruit at or near Philada Lieut Clarke carries this & I refer you to him for anything I may have omitted. I am Sir

Your most humo. Servt

JOSEPH SHIPPEN.

TO CAPT THOS LLOYD.

LANCASTER 29th May 1757
Sunday 4 o'clock P.M.

DEAR SIR

I wrote you p Lieut Clarke the 20th Inst. as I supposed your Indisposition would not permit you to leave Harris's Ferry till His return there. I then informed you that we had received the Govrs Beating Instructions, a copy of which you have inclosed, & each of us £25 from the Commissioners for the Recruiting Service with their consent to draw upon them for more Cash as Occasion required. But nevertheless they could not agree without a full Board to allow us anything to defray the necessary expences in Recruting, tho' the Govr recommended to them to give the Officers £4 for every man enlisted for 3 or 4 years, and for those during Life £5. this the Commissr thought very unreasonable, but however told me they would consider this Matter when they went to Philada I should be glad if you would be so kind to acquaint me what they have done in this particular, that I may know how far I may venture in my Expences on the Recruting Service.

I should have wrote to you sooner but that the Govr ordered me to accompany him to Reading & Fort Henry. I set out with him last Sunday for those places & returned here but just now. I have as yet but five Recruits, & am now issuing advertisements about the Country wch I hope will bring some more in a few Days tho' I imagine it will be difficult to find many willing to enlist. I have

not heard what success the other Officers have had, when I know I shall acquaint you. I am with my Complim^{ts} to M^{rs} Lloyd S^{r}

Your very hum^{e} serv^{t}

To Cap^{t} Tho^{s} Lloyd — Joseph Shippen J^{r}

Dear Sir. — Lancaster 30th May 1757.

Since I had the pleasure of seeing you here I accompanied the Governor to Reading & Fort Henry where Cap^{t} Busse commands. The Governor took that small Route on the Frontier to Spirit up the people to act for their own Defence in these troublesome times, he ordered me to attend him as he Imagined I might get a few recruits but in this we were both disappointed. I enlisted but one man at Reading Col^{o} Weiser & others are endeavouring in that part of the Country to Compleate the 159 men w^{ch} the Governour with the Commissioners ordered Immediately to be raised for the Defence of the Eastern Frontiers till our Regiment can be Compleated. I was gone eight Days & returned here yesterday. I am this minute going 12 miles to a Vendue to try for some Recruits. I have got but five as yet. Lord Loudoun I am informed is sailed form N. York, he a day or two before ordered a general press by which means he got 1100 men. I have not heard whether the Commissioners have yet allowed us any Recruiting Expenses. I have just now wrote to Cap^{t} Lloyd to inform me. The Governor will do everything in his power for us. He would have visited several of the forts if he had not been obliged to meet the Assembly this day. There are Eleven Forts on the Eastern Frontiers & he intends to evacuate them all but 3. I cant add being in a Hurry.

My Compliments to M^{r} Stevenson

I am your affectionate Friend

& very humb^{l} Serv^{t}

To Cap^{t} Jameson. — Jo^{s} Shippen Jr.

Lancaster 31st May 1757.

Dear Brother.

I wrote you on the 19th or 20th Inst. since which I have not had the pleasure of an opportunity to write till now. On Sunday the 22nd Inst. the Govr ordered me to attend him to Reading & Fort Henry where Capt Busse Commands. The Governor took this small Route on the Frontiers to spirit up the people to act for their own Defence in these troublesome times. He would have visited all the Forts on the Eastern Frontiers if he had not been obliged to meet the Assembly in Philada yesterday. There are 11 Forts garrisoned by Colo Weisers Battalion, the Governor intends to evacuate them all but 3 vizt Forts Henry, Allen & Hamilton between which all that Battalion consistg of 450 Men will be continually ranging so as to leave always a Garrison of 50 Men in each Fort. The Governor has with the Consent of the Commissioners ordered Colo Weiser to raise 159 Men for the immediate Defence of the Eastern Frontier and they are to be discharged when our Regiment is compleat & the 3 Companies of his Battalion can be recalled from Fort Augusta. I was absent from hence eight Days with the Govr wch retarded my Recruting so long, in which I have found little success having enlisted as yet but 5 Men. Capt Jameson writes me he has got but 6. Capt Hambright has had better success, that Day when all the Captss came to Town to wait on the Govr he enlisted 12 or 13 of our Discharged Dutch Men, by assuring them that they were not to go to Shamokin, nor do any kind of work but to range & scour the Woods continually, this pleased them so much that they have been endeavrg to persuade all their Countrymen they meet with to enlist with Capt Hambright by wch means I believe he has now 30 Recruits himself he left this Town 10 Days ago since wch I have not heard from him.

But his Bror together with 10 or 12 of his Men recruits

here, & gives every Man a Dollar besides a pistole, which I can't afford to do unless the Commissioners would allow it, so that no Body recruits upon the same footing with Cap^{t} Hambright, & so cant expect equal Success.

I enclose you the Original Beating Orders p M^{r} Peters desire as he had not time when here to write You. Cap^{t} Lloyd (from whom I have not yet heard) did not come by way Lancaster, phaps the Gov^{r} Commissioners & a number of Gent^{n} & Quakers being here prevented him, they continued here 4 Days after I came, he desired me to apoligize to the Gov^{r} for his not coming, that he was sick at Harris's. Christian Vertz behaves himself extremly well & takes a vast deal of Pains to persuade men to enlist, & if we have not much Success, it is not for want of Efforts. I should be glad if you'd send me Vertz Discharge with a Blank for the Date that I may have it ready for him when he chuses to go, tho' he says he will continue with me while I have occasion for him. I think he should be paid as a Serj^{t} while he is recruting with me, he deserves it as well as Bane who assists Cap^{t} Work in Recruting. If you think proper I should be glad if you'd mention him as a Serjeant in his Discharge, & then he can Receive Serj^{ts} Pay from Cap^{t} Young I have not yet learned whether the Commissioners have come to a Determination about an allowance for our Recruiting Expences. I told them that unless they did do something for us in that respect, the Recruit^{s} service would necessarily go on very slowly.

I am informed that my Lord Loudoun sailed last week from N. York, that a day or two before, he ordered a general Press there by w^{ch} Means he go 1100 Men very quickly, it is imagined from thence that the English Fleet & Transports are arrived, which every Body is impatient to hear.

Jemmy Poke who came to Town yesterday asserts that Major Lewis with 50 Soldiers & 170 Cherokees has destroyed some Indian Town on the Ohio below Du

Quesne, taken 19 Indians Prisoner & bro^{t} home 5 Scalps I hope this may be true, most people believe it.

My pretty Nephew Allen Burd is just breaking out with the small pox, the Doct^{r} says he will have it favourable, it has been very much so every where in this country. My sister is very hearty, and in a thriving Condition. I believe she has not informed you of this. Daddy, Mammy sister & all the Family desire their Love to you.

I am most sincerely

Your very affectionate Bro^{r}

JOSEPH SHIPPEN.

I was disappointed in going to Philad^{a} by meeting the Gov^{r} here, so that I am at a loss how to get your Sword made, it can't be done so well without I was in Philad^{a} to give proper Directions. I cant pretend to go to Philad^{a} while I am recruiting.

To MAJOR JAMES BURD.

LANCASTER 1st June 1757.

D^{r} BRO^{r}

As I don't know when my Recruiting Business will permit me to go to Philad^{a} I beg you'll be so kind to employ Sammy your apprentice to get the several necessaries for me mentioned in the inclosed List. I have sent you by ——— Thirty seven Pounds ten Shillings, which I believe will be sufficient to purchase the whole. I would not have given you any trouble of this kind, but that I have no friend in Philad^{a} with whom I could use the same Freedom. I should be glad if the Drum & the Pamphlets could be sent up p the first opportunity.

My love to Sister Peggy & my little Nieces.

I am

Your very affectionate Bro^{r}

JOSEPH SHIPPEN

LANCASTER 6 June 1757.

D^r SIR

I received Your Favour of the 3^d Inst. p. Ensign Morgan yesterday afternoon. In the Evening the Serj^ts Gotlieb & Robinson arrived with the 17 Recruits. I shall dispatch them off on Wednesday Morn^g they are fatigued with their march & require 2 days Respite. I shall also send off 6 of my own Recruits as many of Cap^t Works & some of Cap^t Hambrights who are here. I shall give the necessary Directions to Ensign Morgan concerning the Arms at Harris's & their March to Fort Augusta.

Two of my Recruits are on furlough & won't be here time enough to go with M^r Morgan, another of them deserted on Saturday last & I have inclosed you an advertisement for him w^ch I beg you will get M^r D. Hall to put in his Paper this week. Bob Clinch the Drummer tells me the same fellow deserted from Cap^t Herbert last fall & was taken up & whipt & drummed out of the Roy^l Amer^a Regiment & afterw^ds enlisted with another officer of the same Regiment & deserted, & now I find he is advertised in Hall's Paper as a Deserter from Cap^t Shaw of the Jersey provincials by the name of John Thomas, by w^ch name Clinch tells me he enlisted once before.

I wish with all my soul the fellow could be taken that I might have the pleasure of seeing him hang by the Neck at Fort Augusta as a Terror to others.

I have secured Andrew Ring in our Goal & propose to send him up with the Recruits, perhaps the Gov^r may forgive him upon his enlisting for Life. Young Lowry who came from Augusta p the last Battoes, tells me the Ind^ns have been about the Fort lately that they left 3 painted Spears at the Spring, our Reconnoitering Party found 2 of them sticking in the ground & one in a tree. Cap^t Patterson was sent out afterwards with 40 men down the River upon hearing several Ind^n Whoopings, & discovered 7 Indians in Gabriel's Island, but they immedi-

ately waded with all possible haste thro' the River to the opposite side by w^{ch} means they escaped, our Party not being able to pursue them for want of Canoes.

I am respectfully

Your very hum^{l} Serv^{t}

JOSEPH SHIPPEN Jr.

P.S.

I am afraid Abraham Billing Serj^{t} in my Company is deserted he having been absent two months, tho' he had Liberty on furlough for only 3 or 4 Weeks. I was thinking to advertise him but perhaps you may hear of him. I shall leave it to your Judgment.

LANCASTER 7th June 1757.

D^{r} BROTHER.

On Sunday, the 5th Inst. arrived here Ensign Morgan with a party of Recruits consit^{g} of Serj^{t} Gotlieb, 11 of Cap^{t} Lloyds, 4 of Cap^{t} Davis's & Serj^{t} Robinson of Cap^{t} Trumps Companies when I received a Letter from Cap^{t} Lloyd instructing me to send them to Augusta after they had rested here a little from their Fatigue of March^{g} & signifying to me the Gov^{rs} pleasure that I should also dispatch off my own Recruits & any others that might be in this Town along with them under Command of Ensign Morgan.

I have therefore sent the few Recruits belonging to Cap^{t} Work & myself that are here at present with the above mentioned Party from Philad^{a} under M^{r} Morgan's Command & I have given him the necessary Instructions concerning his March & furnishing the Party with the Arms & Ammunition at Harris's. Inclosed you have a Roll of the Party, & also a Return of all the Men I have recruited, wherein you'll see that I have had the Misfortune of 2 Deserters from me, besides John Clark who I was just now informed deserted on his way from hence to Harris's 8 or 10 Days ago. I shall send adver-

tisement for them to Capt Lloyd to be put in the Papers. There are several of Capt Hambrights Recruits in & about the Town whom I ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march with Mr Morgan, but they are such a parcel of Mutinous Dutch Rascals that several of them refuse to go without their own Captain, who they say ordered them to stay here till he came to town, others say they have not got their Cloathes or anything ready for march being but newly enlisted others of them say they did not enlist to go to Shamokin nor to be Commanded by any Body but Capt Hambright. I have threatened them several times to confine them in Goal & have them every soul of them punished for Mutiny. But all will not do, they seemed determined to act as they please. I have therefore concluded it most prudent to have nothing more to say to them & not to use any forceable or Military Expedients with them as it might hurt the Recruting Service but leave them till Capt Hambright comes here from Philada. I expect in 2 or 3 days, & then I suppose he will march up all his Recruits himself it being the Govrs pleasure that they should go up to you as soon as possible. I hear he has enlisted 50 or 60 in all.

Capt Lloyd desires me to remind you of ordering as many Arms to be replaced at Harris's as Mr Morgan's Party will take from thence. I hope to hear soon what is the Resolution of the Commissioners with regard to Recruiting Expences.

Mr Geo. Ross tells me they told Capt Hambright they would allow him but 1/2 per 1/8 Man, if so we shall all be suffering by the Recruiting Service wch is now attended with the greatest Difficulty, I shall know more of this when I see him.

Yesterday I had the pleasure to receive your very affectionate Lettr of ye 1st Inst. informing me of your attempts against the insulting Indians. I think your Measures were as prudent as could possibly be used &

am very sorry they did not meet with the Success you deserved. I thank you for your Liberty for me to go to Philad[a] I did not doubt of your ready acquiescense in such a thing. I don't know when my Recruiting Business will permit me, or make it necessary for me to go there, I am not willing to go till I have some suff[t] Pretence, tho' the Gov[r] told me he should be glad to see me at Philad[a]. My Lord Loudoun has not yet sailed & he is extreamly impatient to hear of the English Fleets arrival at Halifax. I imagine the Expedition will be to Quebeck.

My Compl[ts] &c.

Yrs. &c J. S.

LANCASTER 9[th] June 1757.

DEAR SIR.

I received a letter from Cap[tn] Jameson last night informing me of his being laid up with the small Pox at Nelsons Ferry about sixteen miles from hence, & I am just going to mount Howe to accompany the Doctor to see him. I have therefore only time to inclose you an Advertisement for 2 Deserters which I beg you'll be pleased to put into Franklin's Paper. I am told that John Clark has inlisted into Gen[l] Otways Regim[t].

Ensign Morgan marched yesterday morning from hence with a party of twenty seven Recruits for Augusta I sent all Capt[n] Works & my Recruits that were in Town w[ch] amounted to only 10. Capt[n] Hambright writes me he will be here to-day & that he has some Instructions from the Gov[r] concerning his own Recruits. Capt[n] Work & Sare Recruiting here with poor success we have I think each of us but 10. I should be glad to hear from you. In the meantime assure yourself that I am with respect.

D[r] Sirs your affectionate
Humble Serv[t]

JOSEPH SHIPPEN JR.

TO CAP[t] THO[s] LLOYD.

Lancaster 14th June 1757.

Dear Brother.

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the Receipt of your affectionate Favours of the 3d & 8th Inst. with the Treaty & Exercises & I am very thankful for your kindness & readiness to furnish me with the necessary's I wrote for & the particular Care you take abot the swords. I just now received the Drum. All our officers up this way find it difficult to recruit Men, the Country is almost drained by the Recruiting Officers on the Establishment. The Commissioners too discourage the service by allowing the officers, no more than ½ per 75 for each Recruit, wch is far from being nearly sufficient to defray the Expences wch are absolutely necessary unavoidable in enlisting men at such a time as this.

Atlee says he received your Instructions for Writs agt Baughman & Betz, & they are issued. My Father has received the Letter from Mr Scott. My kind Love to Sister Peggy & the little children

I am most sincerely

Your affectionate Brother

Joseph Shippen.

To Edwd Shippen Jr.

Lancaster 16th June 1757.

Dear Brother

My Last to you was dated the 7th Inst. since wch I have recruited six Men, at the Fair of wch yesterday was the last day. Capt Lloyd & Lieut. Clarke came here to try for some Recruits at this publick a time Mr Clarke I think enlisted five while the Fair lasted. They left this Town yesterday afternoon. Four Days ago Capt Hambright arrived here with his Recruits & yesterday morning we sent them off together with two of your own seven of mine, seven of Capt Works & 2 of Capt Jamesons wch

in all amounted to 60 Men. Capt Hambright is to overtake them between this & Harris's & to march them up to Fort Augusta. I have sent up Andrew King a Prisoner under the Care of the Party & delivered the Fuzee he deserted with to Capt Hambright, who will set off this afternoon. Poor Capt Jameson lays with the small Pox near Nelson's Ferry at Robt Stevensons 18 miles from hence I took a ride down there to see him last Week the Pox was then just broken out & they were pretty thick on him, but the Doctr says they were of the Distinct Sort & I hope he will do well. Capt Davis (I am sorry to hear) has also taken the small Pox & lays very ill with it, Capt Lloyd says he will go & see him after he gets to Philada. I have wrote to my Brother for every thing we shall want with regard to Stores &c. & he will send them to me ℔ first opportunity. I desired him also to get you a handsome fashionable sword & one for Ensign Scott, & he writes me thus—

"Stephen Paschall is the only Man in Town who makes Sword Blades, & he is so busy in making Scythes & Sickles for Harvest that he says he cannot make any Blades for a month or two. However I have since met with two English Blades and have employed young Phil Syng to make the Handles, they are to be fluted not chased, the latter being quite out of fashion. I am affraid no Morrocco Belts are to be bought, but I shall keep a good Look out. One of the swords will cost abt £10. the other about £8.10 without the Belts."

My Lord Loudoun still waits with three Men of War & upwards of 80 Transports at New York With 4 Regiments & 2 Battalions of the Roy[l] Americans & will sail immediately upon advice of the Arrival of the Fleet from Europe which consists of 16 Ships of the Line & 200 Transports with 12 Regiments on board. We have no other News but what you'll find in the Papers. Little Allen is got bravely thro' the small Pox & pretty little Polly has taken the Infection, but not yet broke out with it.

Daddy, Mammy, Sister & all the Family desires their Love to you. I am very affectionately

Your loving Bro^{r}

JOSEPH SHIPPEN.

The Commissioners have agreed to allow the Officers for the Expences in Recruiting no more than half a Dollar for each Recruit.

To MAJOR BURD at Fort Augusta.

LANCASTER 24—June 1757.

DEAR SIR.

I wrote you tother day p Mathew M^{c}Coskry your Recruit.

I have examined into the Matter concerning Conrad Pfeils Enlistment, & find that he was not fairly or properly enlisted. Henry Hambright gave him 4 pes of 8/8, but received them back again immediately after, so that I could not think it just to confine him as a Deserter especially as the Young Fellow came to Town of his own accord & went to Church as usual. However I have since after a good deal of persuasion regularly enlisted him.

George Hoover is still here & I had some thoughts of send^{g} him to Hunters but knew not whether any officer was there to receive him. I should be glad if you would inform me when you expect the Battoes will be at Hunters, that I may know when to send up the few Recruits that Cap^{t} Work & I have here & those that may be sent up by Cap^{t} Lloyd. I have but 5 Recruits in Town & Cap^{t} Work (who is not returned from Philad^{a}) but 2 or 3 besides 2 Deserters in the Goal. The Business goes very dully. I propose (after Cap^{t} Lloyd sends his Recruits here & I have dispatched them off with Mine &c. to Hunters) to go to Philad^{a}. I have not heard from poor Cap^{t} Jameson since you left this Place. My L^{d} Loudoun is at last actually sailed, by w^{ch} tis supposed the English

fleet is arrived. It is reported that we have taken two french 74 Gun Ships & 12 Transports in the Medeterranean this News is said to have been written by Gov^{r} Thomas to my L^{d} Loudoun.

It would give me a pleasure to hear from you ℔ first opportunity. I am

D^{r} Sir Your affection^{e} Friend
& very hum Serv^{t}
JOSEPH SHIPPEN.

To LIEUT DAN^{l} CLARKE.

LANCASTER 24 June 1757.

D^{r} SIR.

I am favoured with Yours of Saturday last concerning the Desertion of Serj^{t} Billings, its very probable the Rascal may be taken up, as you advertized him so soon, for w^{ch} I return you thanks.

Cap^{t} Hambright sat off from Hunt^{rs} on Tuesday Morn^{g} with the Battoes for Augusta, where I suppose they will arrive to Night. I imagine the Major will send the Battoes down again immediately as the River must now be favourable from late Rains, And I should be glad if we could get a party of Recruits ready to go up with them. Perhaps if you were to dispatch off those you have at Philad^{a} they might reach Hunters time enough. Cap^{t} Work & I have but 7 or 8 to join them, perhaps we may have more by the time Yours arrive here.

Lieu^{t} Clarke has wrote to you from Harris's & I refer you to him for all the news Col^{o} Stanwix has received concerning the Motions of the Enemy towards this province, or to the Bearer Jemmy Gibson (apprentice to M^{r} Andrew Elliot) who can relate all the late Intelligence of them. I have not received my Letter from the Major since I had the pleasure to see you here, nor have I heard from Cap^{t} Jameson. I am

D^{r} Sir Your affectionate hum^{l} Serv^{t}.

To CAP^{t} THO^{s} LLOYD. J. SHIPPEN.

LANCASTER 24th June 1757.

DEAR BROTHER

Yesterday I received the Favour of your Letter of the 20th Inst. with the Cags of Stores to John Spore in good order, & am very thankful to you for the particular Care & pains you have taken. It will be impossible to raise the additional 200 Men these 4 Months unless the Assembly or Commrs follow the Example of the Jerseys in giving a very large Bounty.

I sent you tother day a Letter from Lieut Clark concerning the Motions of the Enemy to the Westward, And Last night the Bearer Jemmy Gibson (apprentice to Mr And. Elliot) came here from Carlisle, & says that on Tuesday night an Express arrived there with Letters to Colo Stanwix from Winchester acquainting him that the Enemy had altered their Route having left General Braddock's Road & crossed thro' the Country to the Pennsa Road cut by Mr Burd, that they were last seen by different scouting Parties within fifteen miles of Rays Town.

This Intelligence determined Colo Stanwix not to move from Carlisle wch he had intended to do the next morng for Fort Cumberld & so the Waggons were all discharged immediately, But he dispatched off 2 Companies of Colo Armstrongs Battalion to Fort Littleton with orders to destroy it & bring away all the Provisions & Stores to Fort Loudoun.

I have not time to be more particular & refer you to Jemmy Gibson.

My Love to Peggy & my little Nieces &c

I am Dr Bror

Yours very affectionately

JOSEPH SHIPPEN.

To EDWd SHIPPEN JR ESQ.

LANCASTER 27 June 1757.

DEAR BROTHER.

Last night Capt Work arrived here from Philada with 14 Recruits sent by Capt Lloyd to wch I have joined 1 of your Recruits left here ℔ Mr Clark 2 of Capt Lloyd's, 6 of my own, & 4 belonging to Capt Work besides 2 Prisoners for Desertion in all the party consists of 28 Men which Capt Work is to march in the morning early for Fort Halifax, where he has the Governor's orders to take post, & to detain there 10 Men of this Party as a Reinforcement to his Garrison, the remainder of the Party are to march to Fort Augusta. A List whereof you have inclosed. Capt Work tells me the Commissioners have now determined not to allow the officers any thing for Recruiting Expences, and I propose to go to Philada in 2 or 3 days in order to get a supply of Money from the Commrs & to learn of them the grand & secret Art of recruiting without putting the Province to the charge of sixpence.

Sir John St.Clair & Capt Young passed thro' this Town yesterday for York & Carlisle. The latter of them told me He believed I should be ordered up immediately to Augusta, & that he advised the Govr to send up All the Captains, his Reason for this is because we have Intelligence that a Body of French & Indians are near Rays Town on their March to our Frontiers, but I ask'd him who must recruit the Regiment? & what would it signify for so great a number of Officers to be at Augusta without half their Complement of Men? he told me some different Method must be fallen upon to compleat the Regiment.

I have not received any of your Favours but that of the 1st June, but hope to have the pleasure of hearing from you in a day or two. I have sent you ℔ Captt Work a pr of green Spectacles 2 Sticks of Sealing Wax & 4 spoonfuls of best flat Turnip seed, as I imagine you have not more at Augusta than will sow one Acre they tell me 4

spoonfuls should go to an Acre. I hope the Garden flourishes well & that Yourself & the other Gent^{n} are feasting with the fruits thereof.

Your Sword is not yet come from Philad^{a} I inclose you the Papers & the Plattoon Exercise. My Lord Loudoun certainly sailed from N. York on Monday last with a fleet of 90 Transports, it's said that a Vessel appeared off N. York Bay & hoisted a particular signal & in 3 hours after the Fleet sailed.

Little Allen & Polly are got bravely thro' the Small Pox. All the Family send their Love to you. I am with my Complim^{ts} to M^{r} Bard & All the Genl^{n} Officers.

Very sincerely

Your very affectionate Brother

JOSEPH SHIPPEN JR

To MAJ^{r} JA^{s} BURD.

LANCASTER 29th June 1757.

D^{r} SIR.

It gives me the greatest pleasure to hear of your happy Recovery from the small pox & your safe Return to York, as I am informed by Paul Harbourn.

Cap^{t} Work arrived here last Sunday with 14 Recruits belonging to Cap^{ts} Lloyd & Trump to which Work & I joined as many more & he marched them from hence yesterday morning for Fort Halifax where he is ordered by the Gov^{r} to take his Post & to detain 10 of his Party there as a Reinforcement to his Garrison & the rest to be marched to Augusta with the first Escort. Cap^{t} Work says the Commissioners told him they had determined not to allow the offic^{rs} any thing for Recruiting Expences. I intend for Philad^{a} in a day or two to get more money & to learn of those wise Gent^{n} the impenetrable secret & Method of Recruiting without Expences.

M^{r} Clark writes me from Harris that on Thursday last the Cattle Guard at Augusta consist^{g} of a Serj^{t} Corporal & 12 men were fired at near the Spring by a number of

Indians, when 4 of our men were killed & 5 wounded; two of them were scalped, they were prevented from scalping the others by two of the Waggon Guards who immediately on hearing the firing ran to the Place & fired at the Indians which made them retreat. A Party from the Fort pursued them but to no purpose. They supposed the Number of the Indians were 40. M^{r} Clark then writes thus—The Major I understand had intelligence that about 60 Warriors were seen 60 miles up the North Branch, he has sent Cap^{ts} Hambright & Patterson with a pretty large party in quest of them. I have not rec'd a Letter from the Major since I saw you at M^{r} Stevensons.

I have recruited since I left Augusta twenty-two men, w^{ch} wth those I had before make 29, whereof 5 or 6 have deserted.

I have now only to assure you

D^{r} Sir I am

Your affectionate Friend

& very hum^{l} Serv^{t}

JOSEPH SHIPPEN JR.

To CAP^{t} DAVID JAMESON.

LANCASTER 10 July 1757

Sunday 9 o'clock A. M.

D^{r} SIR.

On Friday Morning I arrived here, In the afternoon Lieut. Clarkeson Came to Town from Harris's & informed me that the Party with the Battoes left Hunters two Days before for Augusta, & he imagines from the present State of the River another Party will be down at Hunters by Wednesday next, so that I hope I shall meet with no Delay on my March to Augusta by waiting for an Escort.

I expect your Recruits will arrive here to-day and I intend to march them on Tuesday morning with four of

my own 3 of Cap^{t} Works, 1 of Cap^{t} Jameson's, & 3 of Cap^{t} Davis's who were left on the Road by his Serj^{t} as they had Blisters on their feet & could not march I found one of them at the White Horse, one at the Waggon & the other here. I have ordered the two former to join your Party on their march up. The rest of Cap^{t} Davis's Recruits marched up with the last Party, but I understand he is still at Harris's as he was not fortunate enough to arrive there before the Party was gone.

Be pleased to make my Complim^{ts} Accepable to M^{rs} Lloyd & y^{r} pretty little son—I am D^{r} Sir

Your most obed^{t} hum^{l} Serv^{t}

Joseph Shippen Jr.

To Cap^{t} Lloyd.

Lancaster 10th July 1757.
Sunday 10 o'clock P.M.

D^{r} Sir.

This Evening I was favoured with yours of the 8th Ins^{t} ℔ Boon Penny, immediately upon his arrival with y^{r} Recruits & 2 belonging to Cap^{t} Davis that were left on the Road.

I think it necessary to give them one Day's Respite here from their Fatigue in Marching & I have provided them good Quarters. I shall join them with the 9 Recruits that are here & march with them on Tuesday Morn^{g} early for Hunters, where I hope to meet with a Party & the Battoes from Augusta. Major Burd informs me by Letter of the 1st Inst. that he intends to replace the Arms at Hunters & order an officer there to receive the Recruits &c.

Please to give my Compliments to his Hon^{r} the Gov. &c. I am D^{r} S^{r}

Your affectionate hum^{l} Serv^{t}

Joseph Shippen Jr.

To Cap^{t} Lloyd.

FORT AUGUSTA 26 July 1757.

D^r & H^d SIR.

I have the pleasure to inform You that I arrived here safe on Wednesday the ——— Inst. with a fleet of 14 Battoes loaded with Provisions & found the Major & the other officers enjoying all the Comforts of Health Contentment & Harmony of Life. I was agreeably surprized to see the great Quantity of different sorts of Work done here since I have been on the Recruiting Service, considering the small Number in Garrison during that time. The Parapets of Earth are now cutt down to their proper slope & Depth in the Ditch, & one half of them round the Fort are covered over with green sods (w^ch we hawl a q^r of a mile) & exhibits a very beautiful appearance. It is impossible to conceive what a Quantity of work & labour has been performed here nor how much yet remains to be done. All our Soldiers Hands are continually employed about a Variety of Business under the Superintendance of the Officers.

The Battoes are just setting off for Hunters & I hope by the Return of them to receive my Drum & the Cyder. Major Burd now sends down on the Recruting Service (in the Room of the Captains ordered up) Lieu^ts Garraway Atlee & Ensigns Scott & Allison, if any of them should go through Lancaster I should be glad if you would take a little notice of them thro' I believe they will make no delay there. Captain Lloyd behaved himself very well to me when I was in Philad^a phaps it might not be amiss to ask him to take pot-Luck with you on his Return through Lancaster, & shew him your Countenance. When you write to my Bro^r Neddy be pleased to remember my kind love to him, Sis^tr Peggy & the Children. I am with my Love & Returns of Gratitude to Mammy for her Marks of Affection. Love to Sister, M^rs Gray Miss Patty & the pretty Children.

D^r Sir your very affectionate
& dutiful Son

JOSEPH SHIPPEN.

FORT AUGUSTA 10 Aug^{t} 1757.

DEAR SIR.

By the last Battoes I had the pleasure to receive your Favour of the 19th Ulto. with the Barrel of Cyder & Drum in good order.

I observe my Bro^{r} has sent you the 2 pes of Linnen to whom be pleased to remember my Love. I have been lately troubled with an ugly Inflammation in my throat which gave me much pain for 5 or 6 days, & prevented my swallowing any thing but Liquids, & those with difficulty, but I am now quite recovered.

Our Garrison which at present consists of 380 men includ^{g} the 3 Companies from Col^{o} Weiser is very sickly, out of that number 60 are now ill with bad Fevers which have reduced many of them to meer Skeletons, tho' none have as yet died. I shall be as careful of my Health as possible.

I have seen the Gazette of the 21st Ulto wherein I had the pleasure to read the Agreeable News of the King of Prussia's great Victory over the Austrian Army & the Arrival of my Lord Loud^{n} & part of the English Fleet at Halifax w^{ch} gave us all here great joy & I hope by the Return of the Battoes (w^{ch} will set off early in the Morning for Hunters) to be acquainted by a Letter from you with the Arrival of the whole—and may God prosper his Majestie's Arms every where.

I take notice of D^{r} Shippen's paragraph to You about my obtaining a Commission on the Establishment w^{ch} I think is not easy to be done as there are so many Voluntiers in Lord Loudoun's Army to be first provided for. I return my good Uncle thanks for his Wishes for my promotion. But I can't say further on this head till I hear from you, as you have wrote to him for a full Explanation of it. My kind Love to Mammy, Sister & all our Good Family individually—I am with the greatest Esteem D^{r} Sir

Your very affectionate son

JOSEPH SHIPPEN J^{r}.

FORT AUGUSTA 23d Augt 1757

Dr & HONd SIR.

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the Receipt of your Favours of the 30th Ulto. & 1st 7th 9th & 14 Inst. With the Papers & Byngs Trial, I have also received the Cag with 13 check & 7 white shirts, wch last are a little stained with the Current Jelly the Bottle having been broken by the carelessness (I suppose) of the Battoemen in removing the cag & handling it roughly. However I imagine the stains will wash out. I observe Mrs Hart's Accot of makg the shirts &c amount to thirty shillings, wch Sum I have now inclosed you to pay her.

Since my last of the 10th Inst. I had two Fits of the Ague & Fever, but I threw it off immediately with the assistance of a vomit & a few doses of the Bark, & agreeable to your advice I shall continue to take more as a preventative, I thank God I never was in better Health than I am at present tho' sickness prevails much in the Garrison.

As to Hugh Crawfords obtaining an Ensigney in this Regiment he may possibly do it with the assistance of Mr Peters; but it does not suit the Major to recommend him, he having several months ago wrote to the Govr in Favr of Barney Hughes's Bror who, notwithstanding he had the promise of a Commission, has not yet received one tho' there has been three Vacancys these 5 months. The Govr indeed as Capt Young informed me don't chuse to be pressed to these Things.

The melancholly news of the loss of that important Fortress Wm Henry is exceedingly shocking to us as it was the most advanced Post in the British Colonies, & an advantageous Barrier to the Province of New York. Fort Edward I am affraid will fall next & then Albany & if Mountcalm should continue successful in his Progress so far, what Force have we left to resist or impede his motions towards New York and making himself Master of that Metropolis at a time when my Lord Loudoun is employg the chief Part of his Army at too great a Dis-

tance to give it any Relief & the few Troops he left behind for the security of the Colonies in his absence are entirely defeated. But this opens too disagreeable a scene to dwell upon & therefore I shall wave the subject & hope for better things & more happy Prospects.

You mention the necessity of my being present at the Tryal of the Cause with M^r^ Hockley & that my brother Neddy is to inform You whether it will come on next Month, I should be glad if you could acquaint me with the Certainty of this ℔ the first opportunity, that I may prepare for my going down in time. It would be proper too that I should have the Gov^r's^ Liberty for this, as the Major can't quite consistent with his Duty grant me Leave of absence so soon after the Governor thought it necessary to order me to my Post. The Major & I think it would be best for you to write to my Bro^r^ to speak to M^r^ Allen to obtain the Gov^rs^ Liberty in case the Tryal comes on. But if I should not receive an Answer from his Hon^r^ time enough, the Major will nevertheless permit me to go down that you may not be disappointed of My Evidence.

As to what you say with respect to a Partnership with my Brother, it will be quite agreeable to me if everything can be settled to our minds I have inclosed a Letter to him upon this Head to w^ch^ I refer you. My Love to Mammy & every Body round her plentiful Table. I heartily congratulate my Sister on her safe Delivery of a Daughter. I am with a sincere filial Esteem D^r^ Sir

Your very affectionate & dutiful son

Joseph Shippen J^r^.

Fort Augusta 23^d^ Aug^t^ 1757.

Dear Brother.

Since my arrival here I have often thought of the Proposal you made when I had the pleasure of seeing you last in Philad^a^ about joining in a Partnership to carry on the Mercantile Business. This is now mentioned to me by my Father in his Letter of the 7^th^ Inst. as a Thing

equally agreeable to him & Yourself. Indeed it was ever my Inclination to apply myself to that Business nor had I any thoughts of entering into a Military Life, till our good Friend Gov^{r} Morris unexpectedly honoured me with a Commission and tho' I had several Inducements to accept of his Favour with Chearfulness, I have not the same now to continue in a service so unthankful as this I am in & where there is little prospect of Honour Preferment or Happiness, Your proposal therefore of entering into Partnership is perfectly agreeable to my Choice, if it is possible for us to make up a Stock sufficient for a Beginning & other Circumstances will answer. If Shippen & Lawrence's Cause with M^{r} Hockley comes on next month, I shall in all probability be in Philad^{a} to give my Evidence in the Trial when I can deliver you my thoughts more explicitly upon this subject. In the meantime believe me to be with my kind Love to Sister Peggy & my pretty Nieces.

Your very affectionate Brother

JOSEPH SHIPPEN J^{r}.

To EDW^{d} SHIPPEN J^{r} ESQ.

FORT AUGUSTA 1st Dec^{r} 1757.

DEAR & HON^{d} SIR.

I had the pleasure last night to receive your Favours of the 23^{d} & 24th Ulto. by the Battoes, with the 2 Books, your Matrass, the Blanket Tent &c. for which I am very thankful.

I rejoice to hear of your safe arrival at Lancaster, that you found Mammy sister & all the good Family well; I dare say they were agreeably surprized at your speedy Return. I have often reflected with pleasure on the favourableness of the season in our Expedition to Wyoming, especially on your Acco^{t} As otherwise your Health might have been much injured tho I am glad to confess you are happy in the preservation of a Constitution more capable of enduring Fatigue & Hardships than most People of your age.

Mr Carson arrived here with the Battoes wch brought up his Goods, they received a Little Wet occasioned by the sinking of one of the Battoes. He lodges with us till the Store House is put into compleat order, it will be finished in a day or two; & he will be exceedingly well accommedated.

The Major will shew Mr Yeates all the Favour & Countenance in his Power, as Mr Allen has strongly recommended him to his notice.

He has rec'd a Letter from Mr Peters but none yet from the Govr concerning leave of Absence—but Mr Peters apologizes for it. I take particular notice of what you say concerning Indns that may come here under pretence of Trading to do us mischief. I am with Love to all round the Fire side—in wch the Major joins me—

Your affece & Dutiful son

JOSEPH SHIPPEN

FORT AUGUSTA 12th Decemr 1757.

DEAR & HONd SIR.

Last night Capt Hambright arrived here with the Battoes & brot 50 Barrels of Flour, but no Rum for the Garrison, a Necessary Article for the Soldiers especially at this Season, Mr Croston not having provided any at Hunter's. As we have not a sufficient Store of Flour for the Winter notwithstanding all our Endeavours, the Battoes will be hurried off to morrow for another Cargoe, though I am very doubtful that the season will permit them to make a Trip now, as we may reasonably expect Ice in the River every Day.

Our Soldiers frequently desert, I impute this chiefly to their Want of Winter Clothing, which makes their Duty the more severe.

We have been these several months in Expectation of receiving Cloathes from Philada as we have made Stoppages agreeable to the Govrs Orders from those Soldiers who were mustered by Capt Young in September last to

pay for the same. Since w^ch^ time a number of Recruits have joined the Regiment who are almost naked & for whom we have received no Pay at all. The Stopages in our hands will not amount to one third of the Price of Cloathing necessary for the Regiment. But if we had as much of their Pay in our hands as would purchase their whole Cloathing it would not be in our Power to do it this Distance from Philad^a^ even if we had the Governor's Permission.

Besides the above mentioned Stopages there are now three Months Pay due to three quarters of the Soldiers of this Regiment. And if we don't receive their Cloathing or their Pay very soon, we expect a great many of them will desert the Service, nothwithstanding all our Efforts to the Contrary.

Since you left this Place, several Indians have come here with a few Skins & have traded with M^r^ Carson; they seem well pleased with the cheapness of the Goods, but some of them insist that 20^d^ p ^lb^ for fall & 2/ for Summer Skins is not enough, as they say they bear a greater price at Bethlehem. However upon the whole they are contented.

Teedyuscung's Son & two other Indian Warriour's whom Major Burd sent the latter End of Octob^r^ to the Ohio to bring off a french Prisoner, arrived here this morning, having met with no success—they say they fired upon a small party of French who were cutting Logs in the woods at Venango, but missed them & the french retreated to the Fort, they report several other things not worth mention^g^.

FORT AUGUSTA 2^d^ Jan^y^ 1758.

DEAR BROTHER.

This is the first opportunity I have had of writing to you since you left us, on acco^t^ of the Severity of Weather. But for these last six Days we have had a Continued Fog & warm rain w^ch^ has caused a very great Thaw, insomuch that all the Ice in the River is driven down with high Fresh, and last night the Water began to fall, so that I

am in great hopes Cap^{t} Jameson will be able to sett off in a few days with the Battoes loaded with Flour nevertheless I yesterday reduced the Garrison to an allowance of a pound ℔ man having only about 18000 ^{lb} in Store w^{ch} will last us but ———weeks.

We have had but few Working Days since your Departure, however I believe we shall have the Pallisade Bastion closed in to Day, and the Carpenters are employed about the Centry Boxes. The Smiths have consumed all the Coals, but I hope we shall have another Kiln burnt this Week & then I intend they shall work at the Lochaber Axes in both Shops, as the Gun-Smiths are able to do little else for want of new Files.

Serjeant Bland died yesterday of the small-Pox & I fear Serj^{t} Vantine will share the same Fate soon.

Inclosed you have Duplicates of the Regimental Returns for the 1st January 1758, & Report of Stores & Ammunition.

Cap^{t} Work has been very ill these three Weeks & thinks there is no probability of recovering his Health here, I have therefore upon his Application permitted him to go home for that purpose, but I expect he will return here as soon as he is capable of Duty. I fear Cap^{t} Davis will be taken with the Small-Pox soon, & Ens^{n} Allison continues ill.

M^{r} Bard setts off in the morning with Cap^{t} Work in a Battoe for Harris's Ferry.

I wait with hopes of a Letter from You soon with agreeable News concern^{g} the Alterations the Gov^{r} is making with respect to our Regiment & the other Troops.

My love & many happy years to all the Family. I wish you all the Success & Happiness you can desire—& am D^{r} Bro^{r}

Your's very Affectionately

JOSEPH SHIPPEN J^{r}

P.S. My Compliment^{ts} to his Honor the Gov^{r} & M^{r} Peters when you see them.

FORT AUGUSTA 2d January 1758.

Dr & hond SIR.

I was favoured with several of your Affectionate Letters two Nights before the Major left us, but I can't just now lay my Hands on them.

I am sorry for the unfortunate Accident in the Academy between Mr Smith & Mr Allen's Sons. I hope the Consequence of the quarrel will teach that Gentleman to practice more Philosophy in his Discipline for the future.

I believe Capt Jameson has lent the small Book on Fortification you desired me to borrow for you to Capt Mercer; however, I will ask him when he comes up with the Battoes which I hope will be in the Beginning of next Week.

I should have been glad to have had the pleasure of tasting some of Mammy's good minced Pyes & enjoyed all your Companies with the Major at Christmas, but I must content myself with only having had the honour of feasting on a few Huckle Berry minced Pyes, made by the famous quondam Cook of the brave old General Blakeney, plain wholesome repast!

I shall send down p Mr Bard who will sett off early in the morning, a Draught of Part of the River Susquehannah to Mr John Hughes with a Letter to him agreeable to my Promise when he was here. I desired Mr Bard to shew it to you as he goes thro' Lancaster & then rowl it up in the same Manner again that it maynt receive any Damage in Carrying.

I have only now to wish You, Mammy, Sister Mr Burd & every one round the Fire Side a very happy New Year & hope I may have it in my Power to do so in long Succession of Years to come. I am with great Esteem.

Dr Sir

Your very affectionate
& dutiful son

JOSEPH SHIPPEN Jr

FORT AUGUSTA 2d Jany 1758.

SIR:—

When I had the pleasure of seeing you here I promised to send you a Copy of a Draught of the North East Branch of Susquehanna as far up as Wyoming, which I made on our March from thence. But to recompense for the Neglect of my Promise so long, I have now sent it to you with an Additional part of the River from Harris's Ferry to Fort Augusta & up the North West Branch to the Great Island. The particular Courses of this latter part of the River I am affraid are not quite exact, having never been up that Branch to take them, Yet I believe the general Course may be nearly right, as I took pains to collect it from different intelligent Traders & the observations taken by some of our Officers, who made an Excursion to the Great Island with a Detachment of our Regiment in the Beginning of last Winter. But I am more confident of the Justness of the Courses from Harris's Ferry to Wyoming as I was particularly careful in observing them myself with the assistance of a good pocket Compass.

I have delivered the Draught to the Care of Mr Bard, who is going on Leave of Absence to Philada.

Major Burd left us the 18 Ulto by the Governors permission to see his Family. Since his Departure I have ℔ his orders erected a good Pallisade Bastion at the provincial Trading House, for the better Defence of it & the Adjacent Barracks we are carrying up. I wish you a happy New Year & a long Succession of them, & am respectfully—Sir

Your most humble Servt JOSEPH SHIPPEN.

To: JOHN HUGHES ESQr.

FORT AUGUSTA 17th January 1758

DEAR SIR.

I had great Expectations of the pleasure of seeing you here with the Batteaux on Sunday Night or Yester-

day, as the Weather & River have been these several Days favourable for Battoeing, & I am much afraid the Season will not soon present us with so good an opportunity. Our small store of Flour will be exhausted in a month at the allowance of one pound ℔ man, to which I have restricted the whole Garrison (as well as Indians of whom we have now 40 present) since the 1st Instant, so that unless we receive a supply of that Article very soon, I shall be obliged to diminish the Number of Mouths here, by detaching a large Party to Hunter's or Harris's & reduce the remainder of the Garrison to ¾ ℔ ℔ man.

I should therefore be glad to know as soon as possible, the Difficulties that attend your coming up with the Batteaux (having at the same time no reason to doubt your Diligence & Endeavours for that purpose).

If you find it impracticable to collect a sufficient Number of Batteau men I could send down a party of 50 men to join you, & you might then from your whole Detachment pick out as many tolerable Hands as would (with the few Batteau Men you may probably have) be able to work up 10 or a dozen Batteaux upon the present Emergency. Or if the Batteau Men should be unwilling to enter from an apprehension that they will not be paid for their services, I will faithfully promise to pay them for this trip out of my own Pocket, if the Province should refuse to do it.

But while the River is favourable, or should there be other Obstacles to prevent the coming of the Batteaux, that cannot be removed. I should be glad You'd inform me ℔ Express, and perhaps we may fall upon some other Expedient to supply the Garrison with Flour, before our Necessities are greater.

The Uncertainty of the Weather & Unfavourableness of the River generally in February & beginning of March are the Motives to my Anxiety upon this Occasion. If you think it necessary to dispatch an Express to me before you are able to sett off with the Battoes, I beg the

Favour of you to send me the latest Papers & any Letters you may have for me.

My Compliments to Messrs Garraway & Patterson &c. & believe me to be

Dr Sir Your Friend & most humble Servant

Joseph Shippen Jr

To Capt David Jameson Commanding
the Detachment at Harris's.

Fort Augusta 20th Janry 1758.

Dear Bror

I had the pleasure to write you the 2d Inst ℔ Bard, when I inclosed you the Return &c for the 1st Jany 1758 —Since which several small Parties of Delaware Indians have arrived here with skins to trade, among the rest came Old King Neutimus, Joseph & all their Family. And we have now 43 of them present. Job Chilloway came here tother Day from the Munsey Country at the heads of the Cayuga Branch above Diahoga, he was born & bred at Egg-harbour is a very sensible fellow & speaks the English Language perfectly well. From all the Circumstances of his Conversation & Behaviour he appears to be a strict Friend to the English Interest, his releasing Armstrong's Wife from the Indians last Summer, & the prudent precaution he used in sending her here, is a confirmation of my good opinion of him.

He assures me that the only Indians on the Susquehanna who are Enemies are those of the Munsey Nation, & they are determined to continue the War against the English, he says, he understood from some of the Indians when he came away, that a small Party of French were expected next month from Niagara to join a Munsey Captain & some of his Warriours, & that their Intention is to go towards the settlements near Delaware & to take an English Fort, situated at a place (called by the Indians) the Bending Hill, wch we suppose to be Fort Allen—He informs me that last March he carried a parcel

of skins to the French at Niagara to purchase Cloathing for his Family, w^{ch} meer necessity obliged him to do much contrary to his Inclination observing that the unhappy Indian War had put an End to the English Trade, that while he was at Niagara there were 5 officers & he computed the number of Soldiers to be not more than 150, who by his Discription of their appearance & Dress, are Regulars, that they mounted 45 pieces in the Fort, some of w^{ch} were the Brass field pieces taken from Gen^{l} Braddocks which they intend in the Summer to send to Fort Frontenac, & that the Fort was strong & pretty large having in it a great Stone House 3 stories high where the Officers lived. He intends to return to the Munsey Country in a few Days in Order to bring away his Things in the spring & is determined to live among his Brethern the English wth whom he has always enjoyed peace & Friendship.

I have the pleasure to inform you that Cap^{t} Jameson & Lieu^{t} Garraway arrived here yesterday with 12 Battoes containing 6000^{lb} Flour, 2 hogsheads of whiskey, 3 Barrels of salt & 20 Bushels of Indian Corn for the Garrison besides a quantity for M^{r} Carson's Store.

In the morning I shall dispatch off Cap^{t}-Lieu^{t} Davis & Ensign M^{c}Kee with a Party of 50 men in the Battoes to make another Trip if possible as the River is now open & favourable. I have restricted the Garrison to an allowance of one pound of flour ℔ man since the 1st January, & shall continue the same till Cap^{t} Davies's Return with an additional supply. We have now in Store 17390^{lb} of Flour, 91481^{lb} Beef. Inclosed you have a List of Prisoners here for Desertion. I hope to have the pleasure of a Lett^{r} from you soon with an agreeable Acco^{t} of success in your affairs.

My Love to Daddy, Bro^{r} & both the Good Families & am very sincerely

Your affectionate Brother J. S. J^{r}

To: Major James Burd in Lancaster.

LANCASTER 12th June 1758

SIR.

I returned here last night from Shippensburg where I overtook Colo Bouquet as he was setting out for Fort Littleton & he gave me orders that the Companies of Capts Jackson & Eastburn who are ordered to reinforce the Garrison at Fort Augusta, should escort thither the 20 Bullocks at Harris's Ferry & intended for that Garrison & in case the other Bullocks expected at Harris's were not arrived an officer and 25 Men should be left there to escort them up—that the Companies of the new levies should not be at Carlisle before Thursday the 15th Instant as the tents were not expected there till that time and that Blankets and Kettles must be provided before they can be encamped. I have therefore thought it necessary to inclose you a return of the Arms & Camp necessarys wanted for the Companies in the Back Counties which the Commissioners were to have furnished. I wrote to the Capts McClung & Montgomery to march their Companies here immediately as I shall dispose of Capt Noxens Company tomorrow Morning for Carlisle & Capt Haslets in the afternoon that there may be room here for quartering other Companies wch are expected, there are here also the Companies of Capt Wells, Boyd, Clark, & Stone, which I shall order up to Carlisle in a succession one after another as they can find cover on the road, the chief of them having no Blankets. Capt Noxen has not yet joined his Company wch occasions an uneasiness & confusion among his Men, we hear he is confined in N. Castle Goal. Cole Burd's Battalion marched on Saturday last in good order from Shippensburg for Fort Loudoun he informs me that of the Garrison left at Fort Augusta there are about 50 Men at Fort Allen, 30 at Capt Orndts Company & 12 Men at Fort Henry all good & Capable of marching this morning. Sir Allen McClean marched with the Highlanders for Carlisle for which place Capt McClung's Company of the lower

Counties were ordered on Saturday last. I beg leave to make my Compliments to Major Halket & so have the honour to be with great Esteem Sir you most obed^{t} &c

J. S. J^{r}

P.S. M^{r} W^{m} Smith of this County tells me he has at Fort Augusta 150 Blankets to dispose of w^{ch} he expects will be down at Harris's Ferry in 5 or 6 days.

To General Forbes.

Lancaster 23^{d} June 1758.

Sir:—

The night before last I was favoured with Your letter of the 20th Instant ordering me to forward the new levies to Carlisle & leave partys at the different posts to serve as escorts thither, in consequence whereof I have ordered Cap^{t} Bills at Barney Hughes's 18 miles from hence with directions to furnish Escorts to Provision and store Waggons & Beeves passing towards Taffles & Harris's ferrys from whence they are to be escorted by partys at those Stations to Carlisle there are no other Companies to march from hence to Carlisle except Cap^{t} Montgomery's which being unprovided with arms will proceed tomorrow morning with Cap^{t} Landers's party at the same time I shall set out myself for that place pursuant to the Generals orders. Yesterday I received the two inclosed letters from Cap^{t} Reed on the Frontiers of this Country which I thought my duty to transmit to the General. Cap^{t} Reed has received orders to march to Carlisle but the present Incroachm^{ts} of the Indians upon the Inhabitants in his neighborhood has prevented him from an immediate Execution of those orders.

I am very respectfully Sir

Your most obed^{t} Humb^{l} Serv^{t}

J. S. J^{r}

To Major Halket.

LANCASTER 15th June 1758.

SIR.

I received the inclosed this evening by Mr Hoops and I shall do my Endeavour to Comply with the Generals orders as far as they relate to myself but I find great difficulty in moving the new Levies out of this Town as the most of them are yet unprovided with Blankets without which they think it very unreasonable to be obliged to March late this afternoon with no small trouble I sent out of Town Capt Boyd's Company without Arms or Blankets & one half of Capt McClung's Company with both for Carlisle I detain the other half to Guard the King's Stores here; Captss Clarks & Stones Companies having no arms yet sent them.

I am sir your most humble Servt

JOSEPH SHIPPEN Jr

Major Lloyd is not yet returned here from Philada. 33 Waggons were appraised here to-day for the expedition.

To COLe ARMSTRONG.

LANCASTER 17th June 1758.

SIR.

I did myself the Honor to write to you the 12th Inst. on my coming back from Shippensburg, when I sent a Return of the Arms & Camp necessaries wanted for the new Levied Companies this Way, since which I have dispatched off Capt Noxons, Haslets, Well's & Boyds' Companies, & one half of Capt McClung's to Carlisle, the other half of it I have detained here to guard the publick Stores, till another armed Company should come to relieve them.

But as Capt Biles arrived here with his Company to Day, I have just sent off that half Company to escort to Carlisle four Waggons (wch came here this Morning with Lieut Evans Party of Royl Americans) Containing three hundred & seventy one Musquets Bayonets & Cartouch Boxes sent up for the use of the seven Companies raised in York & Cumberland Counties.

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter of the 14th Inst ℔ Mr Hoops directed to Colo Armstrong or the Commanding officer here, to which I shall pay due obedience and I have forwarded it to him at Carlisle ℔ the same Conveyance.

I beg Leave to acquaint you that I have met with a little Difficulty in moving some of the New Levies from this Place for Want of their Arms & Blankets &c.

As Capt Clarke's & Stones' Companies are just now compleat I have directed them to March for Carlisle to-morrow morning to which Place the four York County Companies are ordered by Colonel Armstrong.

I have only now to assure You that I am with due Esteem & attention to your Commands

Your Excellency's most obedt humle servt

Joseph Shippen Jr

To His Excellency Brigadier General Forbes.

Lancaster 19th June 1758.

Honoured Sir.

Since my Return last Week from Shippensburg where I overtook Colo Bouquet & received his Instructions about the marching of the new Levies to Carlisle; I have dispatched thither the three Lower County Companys and those of Captains Haslet, Boyd, McClung, Clarke & Stone. The four Companies of York County were also ordered to Carlisle on Saturday last, and Lieut Simpson carried up yesterday orders for Capt Read's Company to march, So that the only Companies yet to be sent up are Capts Biles, Montgomery's & Walker's the two former are now here & I expect the latter will come in tomorrow. One of these I am to detain as a guard to the publick Stores here, & for Escorts to provision Waggons that may be going upward. On Saturday last I sent an Escort to Carlisle wth the four Waggons containing 371 Musquets & their Accoutrements for the Use of the seven Companies raised in York & Cumberland.

As M^r^ Peters desires my Father to send your Honour a State of some of the new Levied Companies I have furnished him with a Copy of a Return of their Wants w^ch^ I sent to the General last Week.

Cap^ts^ Blackwood & Bull being stationed at Reading & Fort Allen, I am at a loss to know whether they should be immediately ordered from those Posts to Carlisle.

Inclosed is a Letter I just now received from Cap^t^ Reed.

I am with Great Esteem

Your Honours most obed^t^ humble Serv^t^

JOSEPH SHIPPEN J^r^

To the HON^ble^

W^m^. DENNY ESQ^r^ GOVERNOR.

CARLISLE 12^th^ July 1758.

DEAR SIR.

I am favoured with your Letters of the 10 & 11^th^ Inst. ℔ M^r^ Davis with the agreeable news of the landing of the Army at Cape Breton & their possession of the Light House Battery. This the General has a particular acco^t^ of which gives us all high Spirits & great hopes of further Success. I shall take care to recommend the shrub you speak of to the Sutlers as soon as I see them tho' there are none here except two or three transient ones, the chief of them being moved forward to Rays Town, for w^ch^ reason I think the shrub is come up too late for Sale unless it was taken up by some Body along with the Army.

We are daily sending off some of the Highland & provincial Companies as Escorts to Waggons, a great part of the Artillery went off this morn^g^, & I suppose the General with the remainder of the Army here will move from hence in 4 or 5 Days. I have been extreamly hurried since the General's Arrival so that if I write very seldom, I hope you'll forgive me.

The Dunkar people make a kind of small Wax Candle in Rolls, in form of a Roll of Tobacco, If you can find a Convenient opportunity I should be glad you would send

Me one of them, to serve me occasionally on our March, & a pair of brown Boot Stockings.

My Love to Mammy &c. & our Friends in Philad^{a}

I am D^{r} Sir

Your very affection^{e} & dutiful Son

JOSEPH SHIPPEN.

CAMP at RAYS TOWN 16 Aug^{t} 1758.

SIR.

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter with the Commissions for Major & Lieu^{t} Col^{o} for w^{ch} I am extremely obliged to You. When I wrote to you about them from Carlisle I beg leave to assure you I did not mean to impute any neglect to you. I have shewn those Commissions to Col^{o} Bouquet w^{ch} was my Duty to do that he might know my Rank in the Penn^{a} Regiment with w^{ch} he was pleased. I think it absolutely necessary to take them with me, as many Circumstances may require me to produce them before the Campaign is over.

I find my Duty as Brigade Major keeps me continually employed & am therefore prevented from writing so frequently & fully to my Friends as I intended.

It is very uncertain what number of Indians we shall have with us, it seems little Dependance can be put on any of them, I believe there have been about 150 Cherokees at this Place since the Army first formed a camp here but they have all left us except abo^{t} 25 of them, we have besides these, Hambus & 3 Delaware Warriours who came 2 days ago from Augusta, & 2 or 3 of the six Nations. And Col^{o} Bouquet expects Cap^{t} Bullen (a Catawba Cap^{t}) with 30 of his Warriours to join us very soon, I understand they are to come from Winchester by the Way of Fort Cumberland.

The Army here consists now of about 2500 men, exclusive of about 1400 employed in cutting & clearing the Road between this & Loyal Hanning, A great part of w^{ch} I suppose by this time is finished, So that I am in

hopes we shall be able to move forward soon after the General comes up, who we hear is at Shippensburg on his Way up. Col° Montgomery with Part of his Battalion is with him, Col° Washington & 400 of his Reg^{t} have not yet joined us, nor has any of Col° Byrd's (of Virginia) except 2 Companies. We have a good Stockade Fort built here with several convenient Store Houses, and our Camps are all secured with a good Breast-work & a small Ditch on the outside & every thing goes on well. Col° Burd desires his Complim^{ts} to you—I am very respectfully D^{r} Sir

Your most obedient & hum^{e} Serv^{t}

JOSEPH SHIPPEN

To RICH^{d} PETERS ESQ^{r}.

CAMP at RAYS TOWN 19th Sep^{t} 1758.

D^{r} & HON^{d} SIR.

By an Express arrived this morning from Col° Bouquet at Loyal Hanning, we have the following piece of disagreeable News. That Major Grant (of the Highland Reg^{t}) having marched from thence with about 800 men, proceeded as far as Fort DuQuesne, where he arrived the 13th Ins^{t} in the night time, with a view to surprize & Cutt off all the French & Indians that might be in the Out Houses about the Fort, & then draw out part of the Garrison into an Ambuscade, but unluckily he found no Body in the Houses & immediately set fire to & destroyed them & retired to the Woods about ¼ of a Mile from the Fort, where he encamped that Night. Major Lewis being left behind a Mile & a half with about 300 Men to form the Ambuscade. The French remained very quiet all this time in the Fort till about 7 in the Morning, when they rushed out with a very superior Body of Indians (supposed to be 1000) to attack Major Grant, who was disposed to receive them, & as they came through the cleared ground gave them a Fire, which killed a number of the Indians, as soon as the Enemy

had got into the Woods the Engagement became Warm, in which all the Officers & men behaved like Soldiers.

Major Lewis after waiting a considerable Time & finding no appearance of a Retreat to his Ambuscade, marched up his Party in haste to sustain Major Grant & immediately joined warmly in the Action, which continued till 11 o'clock. When our Troops being much diminished & broken & no hopes of Success left them were obliged to retire to our advance Post 10 Miles beyond Loyal Hanning. Our Loss amounts to 22 Officers (out of 34) killed or Missing & 4 wounded & 273 men killed & 40 wounded.

'Tis said (but how true I know not) that Cap^{t} Bullet (of the Virgin^{ns}) saw Major Grant (an Experienced & brave Officer) sitting in the Field after the Action & begged him to come away, but he resolutely refused, say^{g} his Heart was broken & he could not survive the Loss of that Day, & it is supposed he is taken. Major Lewis fell very soon after his Party engaged.

I enclosed you a Letter with the List of Officers killed & wounded &c. which I just now received from Loyal Hannon. We are assured a very considerable Number of the Enemy were killed.

I cannot give you a more distinct Acco^{t} at present from what I have been able to collect, as Many particulars cannot be yet ascertained to us.

The Troops now breath nothing but Revenge & are in high Spirits. I hope we shall not be detained long here by the Want of Waggons, when a sufficient Number of them arrive here we shall push forward with all Expedition.

The General is now in not a very good State of Health, but that will not prevent him from moving on. I am with my Love to our Family & Friends

D^{r} Sir

Your affectionate son

JOSEPH SHIPPEN.

To EDWARD SHIPPEN ESQ^{r}.

NOTES ON THE STEELMAN FAMILY OF CINNAMINSON TOWNSHIP IN BURLINGTON COUNTY AND GREENWICH TOWNSHIP IN GLOUCESTER COUNTY, NEW JERSEY.

COMPILED BY PROF. ARTHUR ADAMS.

The earliest record of the Steelman Family in New Jersey, that I have been able to find, is in connection with a sale of land on the north-east side of Penisaukin Creek to Philip Waller by Charles Steelman in 1666.* There are other references to this Charles Steelman; he held various township offices, such as Overseer of the Highways. From a deed made by his son Charles in 1730, we learn that his wife was a daughter of Hance Monsier; probably she is the "Mrs. Ella" referred to in Rudman's list of the parishioners of Old Swedes' Church in Philadelphia made in 1697–1698. The deed recites that Hance Monsier left land to Charles Steelman by will, but no such document can be found of record.

From the deed made by the younger Charles Steelman, we learn something in regard to the children of the first Charles. This deed (Trenton Deeds, D–D 206), is dated 25 May, 1730; it is of sufficient interest to justify a brief abstract: Charles Steelman of the County of New Castle upon Delaware River, son and heir of Charles Steelman late of Sinnaminson, Burlington County, New Jersey, deceased, by and with the advice and consent of John Bird of New Castle and Margaret his wife and of David Enuxson and Eleanor his wife of the same county, sisters of the aforesaid Charles Steelman, sells to Philip Wallis of Evesham in Burlington County, for £30, a small tract of land in Chester Township on the east side of Penisau-

*The compiler has seen no record of this deed; a friend sent the data without giving or being able to give any explicit reference for it.

kin Creek. The land was purchased of William Biddle by Hance Monsier, grandfather of the said Charles Steelman, by deed of 10 April, 1688, and was bequeathed by Hance Monsier to Charles Steelman the father of the grantor. It is evident then that Charles Steelman the elder died sometime between 1688 and 1697. We know from Rudman's list that, in addition to the children mentioned in this deed, he had a son Eric.

Children:

i. Charles, b. c. 1679; went to New Castle; nothing further known.

2. ii. Eric, b. c. 1681.

iii. Margaret, m. John Bird.

iv. Eleanor, m. David Enuxson.

2. Eric Steelman (Charles[1]). He is first mentioned in Rudman's list with his brother Charles as a son of Mrs. Ella, "mother of the Steelmans now," where his age is given as sixteen (1697.) He bought land in Greenwich Township, Gloucester County, of Justa Lock 9 July 1715. He married Britta or Bridget ——. Letters of Administration on his estate were granted to Bridget Steelman and Tobias Bright 12 May 1731. From documents relating to the estate, we learn that Eric Steelman had at least the children whose names are here given.

Children:

3. i. Hance.

4. ii. James.

iii. Mary.

iv. Catherine.

3. Hance Steelman (Eric[2], Charles,[1]). From various deeds we learn that Hance was the eldest son. He filled local offices, such as Overseer of the Highways and Constable, with satisfaction to his neighbors and credit to himself. He married Alse or Alice Jones, a daughter of the widow Catherine Jones. She was housekeeper for

John or James Boles; when he died he left his property to her daughters; his will is dated 4 March 1715. From a deed (Woodbury Deeds, TT 268), it appears that Hance married *Alse* and his brother James married *Rebecca* [Jones] Boles.

The will of Hance Steelman is dated 7 May 1755 and was proved 29 December 1760. His wife is mentioned, but not by name. He gives his son James the homestead and ten acres of cedar swamp nearest the Delaware; to his son Hance he gives the plantation he lives on and ten acres of cedar swamp adjoining that given to James; to his son Charles he gives half of the homestead plantation —250 acres; to his sons John and Daniel he gives the residue of his real estate equally. The executors named are Alexander Randall and his son John.

Children:

5. i. James, b. 17 November 1719.
6. ii. Hance.
7. iii. Charles.
8. iv. John.
   v. Daniel, d. intestate and s. p.

4. James Steelman (Eric[2], Charles[1].) From the deed cited in connection with Hance[3] Steelman, it is evident that this James married Rebecca Jones, or as his son James speaks of her, Rebecca Boles. So far as is known, they had only one child.

Child:

9. i. James.

5. James Steelman (Hance[3], Eric[2], Charles[1]). According to the record of Trinity (Racoon) Church, Swedesboro, James was born 17 November 1719. In addition to the homestead given him by his father, he became the owner of the lands of his brother Daniel on his decease intestate and without children, he being the eldest brother. His first wife was Magdalen Peterson; she dying in her

forty-ninth year, was buried in Racoon churchyard 12 January 1771. He married, second, Catherine, daughter of Nicholas and Elizabeth (Lock) Keen. She was born 4 April 1747, and they were married 12 February 1772. Her second husband was Ephraim Seeley, whom she married 17 December 1788; letters of administration were granted to her on his estate 31 January 1801. James Steelman was one of the trustees to whom the charter of Trinity (Racoon) Church, Swedesboro, was granted in 1765.

James Steelman's will is dated 3 April 1786 and was proved 22 January 1788. He speaks of a wife but not by name. To his son James, besides other land, he gives ten acres of meadow land on Repaupo Creek; to his son Isaac he gives the rest of the Repaupo land and about two acres lower down the creek then in the tenure of Andrew Steelman; to his sons John and Andrew he gives the homestead plantation; he mentions three daughters—Sarah, Elizabeth, and Jemima; the executors named are Thomas Clark and his son-in-law Daniel Sutherland. Letters of guardianship were granted to Ebenezer Adams for Jemima, John, and Andrew Steelman 22 January 1788; similar letters were granted to the same person the same date for Elizabeth Steelman. The birth of the son Isaac is recorded in the register of Racoon Church.

Children:

10. i. James.
    ii. Sarah, b. December 1761, m. Daniel Sutherland.
11. iii. Isaac, b. 15 June 1764, bap. 9 July 1764.
    iv. Elizabeth, m. James Code.
    v. Rebecca, b. 5 February 1773.
    vi. Jemima, b. 31 May 1776, bap. 10 June 1776, m. Isaac S(L)aymon.
12. vii. John, b. 5 November 1778.
13. viii. Andrew, b. 15 June 1781.

6. Hance Steelman (Hance[3], Eric[2], Charles[1]). The will of this Hance Steelman is dated 4 November and was proved 15 December 1761. He speaks of his wife, but does not mention her name; it is probable, however, that it was Sarah, for letters of administration were granted to his brother James Steelman and to Sarah Steelman. To his son John, who is spoken of as under age, he leaves the homestead. He speaks of young children, specifically of young daughters, but does not mention their names. Charles Steelman was a witness. A John Steelman who died in 1774 speaks of his mother Sarah Steelman and of his sisters Johannah and Catharine. As he seems to be a young unmarried man, he is doubtless John son of Hance, and so we are able to determine the names of two of the unnamed daughters. The land given to the two sisters seems to be the land given to Hance junior by Hance senior and by him to his son John.

Children:

i. John; will dated 14 December 1773 and proved 21 January 1774; unmarried; property left to sisters.
ii. Johannah.
iii. Catharine.

7. Charles Steelman (Hance[3], Eric[2], Charles[1]). He married Brigitta Dalbo 17 March 1756 (Records of Old Swedes' Church, Philadelphia). Charles and Britta Steelman of Greenwich Township 10 October 1764 sell a plantation on the westerly branch of Repaupo Creek to James son of Hance Steelman; Charles derived title from Alse Jones through his father Hance Steelman. Letters of administration were granted to Felix Fisher and Daniel Sutherland on the estate of Charles Steelman 4 February 1785. Nothing further known of him.

8. John Steelman (Hance[3], Eric[2], Charles[1]). This John Steelman married Mary ——. John and Mary Steelman 6 June 1769 sell land in Greenwich Township near Rep-

aupo Creek. The land was left by Hance Steelman to his sons John and Daniel by will of 7 May 1755; Daniel died intestate and his interest went to his eldest brother James, who released it to John 7 February 1769. The will of John Steelman is dated 21 January 1775 and was proved 11 August 1775. He mentions his wife but does not give her name; nor does he mention the names of his children who are said to be under age. Letters of administration were granted to Mary Steelman the date of the probate of the will.

Children:

i. Sarah, b. September 1764, bap. 10 September 1764 (Racoon Church Record).

ii. Mary, m., first, ——— Miller; second, 19 March 1803 John Ernest Christian Bethausen, practioner of physic. He was the son of Charles Christian and Rosina Maria Bethausen, now or late of Berenberg, Germany. They were married by the Rev. Nicholas Collin, who carefully noted her parentage in the records of Old Swedes' Church, Philadelphia. (Old Swedes' Church Records, p. 263.)

9. James Steelman (James[4], Eric[2], Charles[1]). This James moved to Great Egg Harbor, where he made a deed 18 May 1789, in which he signs himself James Steelman, Senior. He sells a plantation in the forks of Repaupo Creek in Greenwich Township to William Beaston, tracing title from James Boles through his mother Rebecca Steelman formerly Rebecca Boles. Nothing further has been learned concerning him.

10. James Steelman (James[5], Hance[3], Eric[2], Charles[1]). He married Eleanor ——. Letters of administration were granted 2 January 1790 to Eleanor Steelman and James Code on the estate of James Steelman. 17 January 1795 Felix Fisher of Greenwich Township was appointed guardian of Sarah and James Steelman, children

of James Steelman the younger of Greenwich Township, both under fourteen; the mother Eleanor was the wife of John Kerns.

Children:

i. Sarah, b. probably in 1785, if the record in the Racoon Church register refers to her: "buried 6 December 1798, Sarah, daughter of James Steelman, Jr., aged thirteen years."

14. ii. James Boles, bap. 4 July 1790

11. Isaac Steelman (James[5], Hance[3], Eric[2], Charles[1]). Isaac was born 15 June 1764 and was baptised 9 July 1764 (Racoon Church Record). He married Elizabeth ——. It would seem that he died about 1828. Isaac Steelman and Elizabeth his wife 11 October 1790 sold land in Greenwich Township to Meshack Fish of Waterford Township. The land was conveyed to Eric Steelman by Justa Lock 9 July 1715, and Eric Steelman dying intestate, the land descended to his eldest son Hance, who left it by will of 7 May 1755 to his sons John and Daniel. Daniel died without issue and his part went to his eldest brother James, who by his will of 3 April 1786 gave the land to his son Isaac, the grantor, to whom it was confirmed by decree of the Supreme Court at Trenton in November 1789 (Woodbury Deeds, B 96). The only child of whom trace has been found is a daughter Elizabeth. She made a deed 6 October 1830, in which she speaks of herself as of Philadelphia, and by which she sells land in Greenwich Township that had been left to her by her grandfather James Steelman. She mentions her father Isaac Steelman (Woodbury Deeds, B[3] 120).

Children:

i. Elizabeth, moved to Philadelphia.

12. John Steelman (James[5], Hance[3], Eric[2], Charles[1]). According to the records of Racoon Church, John son of James and Catharine (Keen) Steelman was born 5 Novem-

ber 1778. No record of his marriage has been found unless he be the John Steelman who was married to the widow Hannah Hendrickson by the Rev. James Feltus, Rector of Trinity Church, Swedesboro, 6 January 1803. John Steelman's will is dated 27 August 1825 and was proved 5 October 1825. He does not mention a wife. He speaks of his eldest son Hiram, and provides that if the property he received from his father is entailed to him, he shall have no more of his real estate; but if it prove not so, that all is to be divided between his children equally.

Children:

15. i. Hiram.
    ii. Elizabeth.
16. iii. James B.
    iv. Sarah.

13. Andrew Steelman (James[5], Hance[3], Eric[2], Charles[1]). Andrew son of James and Catharine (Keen) Steelman was born 15 June 1781 (Racoon Church Records). It appears from a deed dated 10 August 1811 (Woodbury Deeds, Q 251) that he married Sarah daughter of Daniel England; she had a sister Susannah who married Joseph Cooper. Andrew must have been married before 18 January 1804, because she joined in a deed on that date. Nothing further known.

14. James Boles Steelman (James[10], James[5], Hance[3], Eric[2], Charles[1]). He was baptised 4 July 1790 (Racoon Church Record). His lands in Greenwich Township were sold by the Sheriff to John Steelman 23 March 1813 (Woodbury Deeds, B 223). The inventory of the estate of James B. Steelman is dated 11 May 1815, and John Kerns, doubtless his step-father, was appointed administrator. It does not appear whether or not he was married.

15. Hiram Steelman (John[12], James[5], Hance[3], Eric[2], Charles[1]). 17 December 1827 Hiram Steelman, son of John and grandson of James Steelman, sold land in Greenwich Township to John B. Miller (Woodbury Deeds,

UU 319). Hiram Steelman and Sarah Shoulders were married at Lower Bridge 18 August 1835 by Samuel G. Ogden. The compiler has heard of at least two children.

Children:

i. James, deceased a few years since, lived at Daretown, N. J.

ii. A daughter, living.

16. James B. Steelman (John[12], James[5], Hance[3], Eric[2], Charles[1]). From a deed (Woodbury Deeds, K[4] 453), we learn that this James B. Steelman married Judith L., daughter of William Casperson. The deed is dated 5 December 1849. Nothing further known.

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DATA NOT PLACED

Woodbury Marriages

31 June 1828 Charles Steelman to Martha Russell of Woolwich Township.

10 March 1810 James Steelman to Mary Sweeten, both of Woolwich Township.

16 March 1803 Andrew Steelman to Sarah Seeley by the Rev. James Feltus, Rector of Trinity Church, Swedesboro.

Trenton Guardianship Record

28 January 1788 letters of guardianship for the person and estate of Elizabeth Steelman were granted to Ebenezer Adams. It is probable that she was a daughter of James[5] Steelman by Magdalen Peterson his first wife. On the same date letters of guardianship were granted to the same person on the person and estate of three children of the second marriage, namely, Jemima, John, and Andrew Steelman.

LETTER OF HON. JAMES WILSON TO GEN. HORATIO GATES, 1776.

[The following is an unsigned draft of an interesting letter of Hon. James Wilson, of Philadelphia, to Gen. Horatio Gates, probably dated in June of 1776. The handwriting is undoubtedly that of Mr. Wilson, and is preserved in the Dreer Collection, Manuscript Division of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.]

My dear General

I have been *favoured* with many Letters from you since you left New York. I place an Emphasis upon the Word "favoured" to shew that I mean it not as an Expression of Course. You know I have many Reasons, arising from public Considerations, to wish to hear frequently from you: I can assure you that those Reasons receive much additional Strength from the Part, which, I feel, I take in every Thing relating to yourself. When Letters come from Canada, I derive peculiar Satisfaction if I have one from you: If I have none, I feel somehow disappointed. It is easy to conceive how much your attention must be constantly employed in the Duties of your office; especially when it is considered in what Confusion and Distraction the Affairs of Canada have been for a considerable Time before your Arrival in that Department. I know you can appropriate only a few Moments to writing Letters: Let me claim a Share of those few.

But I have much Occasion to make an Apology for myself: A long Time has elapsed since I have written to you. But, to say Truth, this Place is not so fruitful of Subjects as that where you are. The material Proceedings of Congress relating to the Operations of the War are communicated officially by the President. Intelligence from Europe and from the different Parts of the united Colonies you receive sooner from New York than you could from Philadelphia. I have had it in View, for some Time past to write you very fully and particularly

concerning the State of this Province, its Parties, and its Politics; but even here Difficulties have occurred. Our Affairs have been in such a fluctuating and disordered Situation, that it has been almost impossible to form any Accurate Judgment concerning the Transactions as they were passing, and still more nearly impossible to make any probable Conjectures concerning the Turn that Things would take. Matters are, however, now, in all Likelyhood approaching to a Crisis; and some Opinion be given of the Manner, in which they will be conducted, and the Issue, in which they will terminate. I shall therefore embrace this Opportunity of giving you an Account of what has been done, and of what, in all Probability, will be done. I shall occasionally intrude upon you my own Sentiments concerning the different Measures, of which I shall have Occasion to take Notice.

On the 15th of May last a Resolution passed in Congress mentioning, in the Preamble, that it was necessary that every Kind of Authority under the Crown should be totally suppressed, and all the Powers of Government exerted under the Authority of the People—and recommending it to the respective Assemblies and Conventions of the united Colonies, where no Government sufficient to the Exigencies of their Affairs had been hitherto established, to adopt such Government as shall, in the Opinion of the Representatives of the People best conduce to the Safety and Happiness of their Constituents in particular; and America in General.

Concerning this Resolution many different Opinions were entertained: Some thought the Government of Pennsylvania sufficient for the Exigencies of its Affairs: Others were of contrary Sentiments upon this Point: Those others divided in their Opinion concerning the *Mode* of adopting a new Government. Some said that the Assembly were adequate to the Purpose of adopting a new Government, others, that they were adequate to the Determination of the Question, whether a new Gov-

ernment was necessary or not, but could not constitutionally adopt one without new Powers from the People; others, that they were adequate to neither. A Number of the Inhabitants of Philadelphia met at the State-House upon the Occasion. You have perhaps, seen their Resolutions in some of the News-papers. One of them was, "That the "Committee of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia be directed to send the Resolution of Congress to the several Committees through-out the Province, and call together a Number from the Committee of each County, to hold a provincial Conference, in order to determine upon the Number of which the Convention for framing a new Government should be composed, and the Manner in which they should be elected." This Measure has accordingly been taken. A Conference of Committees consisting of above one hundred Members, met here on the 18th of this Month, and are now sitting. They have fixed the Number of Representatives, in the Convention which is to be called, to eight for each County, and the same Number for the City and Liberties of Philadelphia, who are likewise to vote in the Election for Members of the County at large. The 8th of next Month is appointed for the Election; and the 15th for the Meeting of the Convention in this City.

To return to the Assembly—They admitted the new Members, chosen on the first Day of May last, to their Seats in the House, without taking the Oath of Allegiance; and dispensed with that Oath upon all other Occasions. After they had sat a considerable Time, their Number became so small that a Quorum of the House could not be made up; so that they adjourned without doing any Thing concerning the Resolution of Congress beforementioned.

A COLONIAL HEALTH REPORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1754.

[With the increasing trade and large arrivals of emigrants from Europe at the port of Philadelphia, the dangers of contagious malignant diseases being introduced and spreading in the city, were increased, and stringent regulations were adopted by the Provincial authorities. At earlier dates, the inhabitants of the city had suffered the vicissitudes due to imported malignant diseases. The emigrant vessels were small, generally overcrowded, ill provided with good food and water, the ventilation was the worst imaginable, and from sixty to ninety days and more were spent by the emigrants on shipboard between the ports of embarkation and debarkation.

Under the appointment of the Governor, two distinguished physicians of the city, Doctor Thomas Graeme and Thomas Bond, were assigned to investigate a large number of cases of fever which had broken out among some Palatine emigrants in November of 1754, and their report, which follows, is preserved in the Manuscript Division of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It is endorsed "Report of Doctors, Nov^{r} 16, 1754, with Relation to the Health of the City."]

To his Honour the Governor.

We have with the greatest Care, executed the Orders you were pleas'd to give us, to examine the Houses in and about the City, where the Palatines now are, or have been entertained, and found as follows.

At Christian Rinhault's, 2nd Street,... 5.....all well
At another House near it,.....16.....all well
At David Sickle's House, in Race St.,. 20.....3 Sick
At Jacob Cost's, Dirty Alley,.....20...several sick
At John Cowl's, Arch Street,.....19.....all well.
Most of these belonged to M^{r}. Shomaker.
At Lodowick Cale's, in 5th Street,.....24....many sick
They were Mr. Benezett's
At Philip Burcost's, near the reformed dutch church, are a considerable Number and many Sick: they are confined in so close and small a Room, and the Air and every thing else about them in so ill a condition, that we think

there is the greatest Danger of malignant and infectious Diseases, being generated amongst them. Two of his Children are already ill of Fevers. The House of Frederick Birk, is circumstanced in the same manner: the People in the former belong to Daniel Benezett; and in the latter to Henry Kepler.

We are of the Opinion the Security of the City requires the immediate removal of both the Sick and Well, from these two Houses, to some Distance from the built Part of the Town, and that the Sick should everywhere be kept separate from the Healthy, and we think no House should be permitted to take in above 8, or 10 of these People Sick or Well.

We did not find that any, except the two mentioned, who had entertained, or nursed the Sick, or any Persons living in the neighborhood had been infected by them: We were told that several Persons thereabouts had been ill after working on board the Ships, amongst whom was Michael Cone: this man had been employed on board Capt: Jackson from Hamburg. The Circumstances attending this Ship; at, and after her Arrival, are remarkable and together with the Observations of Persons experienced in that Trade, shew that the People on board most Passenger Ships, do sooner, or later, undergo a Disease from foul air: We were told she had not lost above two Freights in the Passage, and finding the rest of the Company uncommonly healthy, we had no Reason to question the Truth of that Information: soon after her coming into Port, the Captain, Mate, Merchant, with the rest of the Mariners, and most of the Palatines were taken ill of Fevers. The Merchant and Mariners were brought on Shore, put into proper Lodgings, and tho' long ill, did not communicate the Disease to any Person about them; at the same Time several others besides Michael Cone contracted the same Disease on board of her. This is the kind of Fever we commonly meet with on board these Ships, and which not compli-

cated with any other Disease, we have never found to be contagious.

From the great Number that have dyed, we are certain the same Thing has happened in the other Vessels, that is, the People have become sick since we visited them, or that the sick have been wickedly conceal'd from us, and indeed we have now no Room to doubt the latter, for we are inform'd that one of the Ships lay below on Pretence of being aground, but that she was kept back only to have time to take out the Sick.

Our Fellow Citizens are under great Apprehensions of some infectious Disease, being communicated to them from the Hallifax, and we are sincerely concerned there has been so much Cause for their Fears: We are notwithstanding, conscious of having done our Duty faithfully in that Affair, according to the best of our Knowledge: We used our utmost Endeavours to inform ourselves of the Number lost, and of the Nature of the Diseases of which they had dyed on board the said Ship, and after comparing the Condition she had been and was then in, for ought we know with that of many others, which had for 10 Years past been admitted up to the City, without communicating any contagious Diseases to the Inhabitants, we were under no Apprehensions of any particular Injury from her, and after a re-examination of her, & the People on board, we have not had any Reason to change our Opinion, there having nothing happened from her, but what has happened from the healthiest Ships. We do not pretend to say there was no malignant infectious Cause in this or any other of the Ships, we can only say, if there has been any such, it has evaded our most diligent Enquiry. We can judge by no other Rules but the Histories of the Previous Disorders and the present Appearance of the People, whether their Diseases are contagious or not, that is, whether they may be communicated from distempered to sound Bodies: we are sensible, that several Persons who have been

long on board Palatine Ships, have contracted Fevers, from Breathing and imbibing an unwholsome Air, this it does not require the Skill of a Physician to foresee, nor is it our Duty to prevent, but as no Person on Shore, within our Knowledge, has contracted Diseases from the Palatines themselves, (unless where many of the sick have been kept together,) nor no Person who was taken ill, after being on board the Ships, have communicated their Fevers to others, we hope we have not been mistaken, in the Nature of these Diseases.

We cannot conclude this Representation without saying, that our Case is really hard, since a Security from contagious Diseases is expected from us, and the Legislature has not made the necessary Regulations to prevent malignant Diseases being generated by these People, after they come into Port, where there is much more Danger of it than at Sea.

THO: GRAEME.

November 16th 1754.

THOMAS BOND.

GENEALOGICAL NOTES REGARDING THE FAMILY OF GLEN, OR GLENN.

BY THOMAS ALLEN GLENN.

[No excuse, perhaps, is necessary for preserving here these notes in connection with a surname borne by over forty of those who arrived in the colonies from the earliest times to about the commencement of the Revolution. With the exception of two, these adventurers were kinsmen, and at least fifteen of them settled in Pennsylvania. In Scotland and Ulster, at the present day, however, the surname is somewhat uncommon, and those bearing it, for the most part, stand high in the communities to which they belong. This family was represented in the Darien expedition, with the first Dutch on the Delaware, and in the French and Indian Wars. General Forbes claimed near kinship with the Linlithgow branch. Some fifty of the name served, mostly as privates, and not with especial distinction, during the Revolution. The civil roll includes one Royal Governor, and two Governors of States. The information following is necessarily condensed; but it may prove of interest to descendants, and corrects some errors.]

At the close of the 13th century we find three families bearing the surname of Glen; two in Scotland, the other in England.

The English Glens, (Leicestershire) came, doubtless, from Nanancort, Balliwick of Quency, Normandy, where the name occurs 1170, and later.[1] It is claimed, however, that this family assumed the surname from Glen Magna. If so, individuals returned to Normandy in the service of the de Quencys, their lords.

In Leicestershire, 45 Hen. III., Galfridus de Glen and Winarch his wife are mentioned.[2] Walter de Glen, clericus, and Alan his brother appear 54 Hen. III.[3] On 18 July, 10 Edw. I., a commission of oyer and terminer was granted Nicholas de Stapleton on complaint that Adam, son of Geoffrey de Glen, and others, had broken

[1] Rot. Norm.
[2] Ex. E. Rot. Fin., ii., 346.
[3] Ibid., ii., 512.

into his house at Newton Harecourt, at night;[4] and, 20 Edw. III., John de Glen held lands in Humberston.[5] A John de Glen was in Sitheston, 33 Hen. VI.[6] Other references occur; but after the reign of Edward III. the house declined, descendants sinking to mere husbandmen. The name, now usually written *Glenn*, remains in Leicestershire.[7] Branches settled in Derbyshire,[8] Rutlandshire, London, and elsewhere. One Richard de Glenfield held lands in Glen Parva, 20 Edw. III., and in 32d of same was lord of that manor.[9] The arms of Glenfield and those of Glen of Leicestershire, are similar.[10] Thomas Glen, or Glenn, or Glean, in Philadelphia, 1684, was of this line probably from near Sproxton; and Nicholas Glen, a descendant, I believe, of the Rutland branch, was soon after in Maryland.

GLEN OF SCOTLAND.

Neither of the families of Glen of Scotland bore that surname before being seized of lands from which they assumed it; nor were they kinsmen.

A history of Scottish Parishes states that "The Glen," in Traquair, Peebles, gave its name to its ancient owners. This estate comprises an extensive glen, from whence its appelation, and in which stood the stronghold of its lords.[11] Before 24 Edw. I. "The Glen" belonged to Duncan de le Glen,[12] who died prior to 3 Sept. of that year, when his widow, Sara, subscribed allegiance. Duncan was the first of his race to be so called. The family was Celtic, Colban son of Duncan, under the

[4] Cal. Pat. Rolls, i., 47.

[5] Burton's "Leicestershire."

[6] Inq. P. M., William Lovell, 33 Hen. VI.

[7] A very respectable branch of this family has long resided at Sproxton.

[8] The name is found in Duffield and neighbouring parish registers. The Rutland branch, assuming arms, was disclaimed by the heralds.

[9] Burton.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Orig. Paroc. Scot., i., 44.

[12] Rot. Scot., i., 26^{b}.

designation of Colban de Glen, with Annabella his spouse, had a grant from Robt. I. of Quilts, Peebleshire (adjacent to "The Glen"), for payment of 20s. 8d yearly, half the service of a bowman in the King's army, and one suit yearly at the court of Peebles.[13] After 1329, Symon de Peebles, with consent of Andrew de Moray, Warden of the Kingdom, granted Henry de Douglass his lands of Quylt (Quilts) *which he had as heir to his sister Anabella*, who had been enfeoffed there by King Robert. This grant (undated), confirmed 1368,[14] proves that Colban died without issue; which is the last we hear of this family. What became of "The Glen," is not clear; but Gilbert Cokburn, Thomas Middlemarch, and Stewart of Traquair held it 1479–1488.[15] Colban, who was living 1329, held some appointment at Court, and the Queen left him a legacy.[16]

The second Scots family of Glen assumed that surname from the lordship of Glen, Renfrewshire, so called from a vale in Lochwinnoc, out of which flows the Black Cart Water. This lordship, comprising Bar, Brigend, Lynthills, Gaytflat, and other[17] lands, was granted by David I. to Walter the Steward. The first lords, therefore, were the Stewards, holding of the King *in capite*, who, by sub-infeodation, parcelled the lands among their retainers. Thus, in the grant of Pete Auchingowan in Lochwinnoc to the convent of Dalmunlin, on the Waters of Air, about the beginning of the 13th century, the pasture is described as "by the same bounds which Alexander the son of Hugh held the land of the Steward." [18]

Lord Richard de le Glen, before 12 Nov., 20 Edw. I. (1292), under the designation of Richard de le Glen *dño de le Glen et nam in Dño*, holding this lordship of the

[13] Mun. Vet. Com. de Mortoun, 27, 28; Robertson, 23.
[14] Ibid, 66, 67.
[15] Orig. Paroc. Scot., i., 44.
[16] Rot. Scac. Reg. Scot., i., 169, &c.
[17] Retours.
[18] Orig. Paroc. Scot., i., 95.

King *in capite, confirmed* to John de le Glen, his son (*fil' meo*), his lands called Gaytflat, in the tenure of the Glen, which Robert Nase and Cubinus formerly held of his (Richard's) predecessors, by the same bounds by which Richard his (i.e. Lord Richard's) uncle held the land of him (Richard) and his predecessors, hereditarily, John de le Glen and his heirs paying one penny yearly, on the Feast of the Pentecost, at the Court of the Glen.[19] Witnesses: Lord Robert Wishard, Bishop of Glasgow, Lord James, Steward of Scotland, Lord William Fleming of Barhushan, Knight, William Perel, Sheriff of Traquayr, Walter de Logan, William de Erth, John de Iethyn, Alexander Kirkintulack, and William de Ladel. Confirmed by Edward I., 12 Nov., 1292.[20] Two days after (14 Nov., 1292), the King, for 100 marks, granted Richard Freser custody of the lands and tenements which had belonged to Richard de le Glen, deceased, which he held of the King of Scotland *in capite*, and which because of his death are taken into the King's hand, holding the same for the legitimate heir of the said Richard.[21] This was the customary procedure.

I find no record of John having been proved heir to the lordship of Glen; but there is evidence to show that he was. The lordship became, finally, the property of the monastery of Paisley, the Glens holding the lands of Gaytflat, Bar, Brigend, and others under the Lord Abbots; but of this change of tenure, no account has been discovered. At the time of confirmation of the Gaytflat lands, Lord Richard was in Holy Orders, having probably assumed the monastic habit upon the approach of death. It is supposed that Lord Richard acquired "The Glen" through his mother, and that she was a daughter of one of the Stewards. From the grant of confirmation we find that Gaytflat had been the inheritance of Richard

[19] Rot. Scot., i., 11[a] & 11[b].
[20] Ibid., i., 11[b].
[21] Abbrev. Rot. Orig., Edw. I., 72, Ed. 1805.

the uncle of Lord Richard, who must have granted it to his grandnephew, John, whose father, as lord of the manor, confirmed the gift.[22] Further, we learn that the family surname had been Nase, or Ness, and that the immediate ancestors of Richard, the uncle, were Robert and Cubinus. The family of de Ness was from Ness, or Ness Strange, near Shrewsbury, and descended from the powerful Norman house of l'Estrange, the first of whom is said to have been Guy l'Estrange, younger son to the Duke of Brettaign. The de Ness accompanied Walter Fitz Alan from Shropshire to Scotland, and Henry de Ness held under the Steward in the lordship of Glen, 1180.[23]

It seems certain that John de Ness was father to Lord Richard, and indentical with John, constable of Dunoon, who was seized of lands in Kilmun. Descendants of John, son of Lord Richard, held estates in Kilmun, so late as 1373.[24]

John de le Glen must have been almost of age in 1292. During the revolt of Wallace he commanded the troops of Robert Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, as appears by articles to be propounded before Pope Clement V. by King Edward, stating, among other things, that the said Bishop directed William Lydel, his Bailiff, to muster his forces, directing that they march under John de Glen *against the Prince of Wales.*[25]

We hear no more of John prior to Bannockburn. That he distinguished himself in this battle is, doubtless, true, for immediately after he had a grant from Robt. I. of the forfeited lands of Balmutache (Bulmato), Fife.[26] According to Scottish heralds John de le Glen married

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[22] See grant *supra* where the words *"et' nam in Dno"* occur.

[23] Orig. Paroc. Scot. It may be well to explain that the possession of a lordship did not necessarily imply the fee of the lands which comprised it; but only the services or rents from the tenants, fines, &c., according to the custom of the manor.

[24] Hist. Com. Rep., 4, Appendix, 476.

[25] Docs. and Recds. ill. the Hist. of Scot., in Treas. Excheg.; Palgrave.

[26] Robertson, 25.

a co-heiress of Abernethy. He had Robert, and, probably, Roger. The latter had an annuity from the Crown of 100 shillings, 1329,[27] and, 25 Feb., 1332, rendered the accounts of the Provosts of Peebles;[28] he seems to have died s. p.

Robert, son of John de le Glen, married Margaret, illegitimate daughter of Robert Bruce.[29] Robert de Glen and "Margaret Bruce the King's sister," his spouse, had a grant from David II., undated, of Nether Pitedye, Kinghorn, Fife (adjoining Balmuto).[30] Robertson notes three other charters from David to this Robert de Glen, of the lands of Glasgow Forest, thanedom of Kintore, Aberdeen.[31] Wood[32] gives Margaret as legitimate, and says that she married, secondly, William, Earl of Sutherland. The latter did marry as his second wife, Margaret Bruce; but it is impossible that she was the widow of Glen, and an authority points out that the arms quartered by Glen, and attributed to the co-heiress of Abernethy, were not the Abernethy arms, but those of Scotland *with the Scottish mark of illegitimacy,*[33] which agrees with a tradition preserved in several branches of the family, and is conclusive.

Another tradition, traceable for four centuries, insists that Robert de Glen was one of those who accompanied the heart of Bruce to the Holy Land, and the Linlithgow line used two crests, one a martlet; the other an arm, the hand grasping a heart, in commemoration of that event.[34] Moreover, the Glens of Bar possessed the sword of Bruce, which a descendant carried to Ireland,

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[27] Rot. Scacc. Reg. Scot., i., 209.

[28] Ibid., i., 411.

[29] Robertson, No. 43, p. 33; Rot. Scacc. Reg. Scot., i., cxxix, cxxx.

[30] Robertson.

[31] Ibid., No. 32, p. 38; 46, p. 39; 19, p. 62.

[32] Wood's "Peerage of Scot."

[33] Rot. Scacc. Reg. Scot., i., cxxix, cxxx.

[34] Iron seal in possession of a descendant. The arms of Linlithgow branch are identical with those of Bar.

1606, where it was seen a few years since, the inscription on the blade leaving no doubt as to its original ownership.

Robert de Glen had issue, William, Robert and John. The order of births is uncertain; but John, perhaps was the youngest. William appears to have finally acquired all of his father's estates, including lands in the lordship of Glen, and in Kilmun, save Balmuto and adjacent property, which, probably by enfeoffment, vested in John, who was father of Sir John de Glen, of Balmuto. This Sir John was party to a deed dated after 1373, between Sir John de Glen de Balmuto, and Margaret his wife, and Sir John de Wemyess and Isabel his wife, touching lands of Sir John de Glen in exchange for lands of Sir John de Wemyess, the latter lying north of the Firth of Forth.[35] Sir John de Glen married Margaret, co-heiress of Sir Alrn Erskine (living 1364), by Isabel, co-heiress of Sir Patrick Inchmartin, whereby he acquired Inchmartin. Margaret was living 8 Sept., 1401, being, according to a retour of service of her and Isabel her sister of Inchmartin, heir to her mother in Auchlevin and part of Ardoyn.[36] Sir Michael Scot of Baheary, by a writ disposed of the lands and mill of Cambrune to Sir John Wemyess, 1400, and Sir John de Glen, lord of Balmuto, gets investment of part thereof by a precept from the Duke of Albany.[37] Among the lands held by Sir John de Glen were those of Lintrathen, Forfarshire. Sir John had co-heiresses: (a) Mariott, wife of Sir John Boswell of Balgregie, who thus acquired one third of Balmuto, and purchased the other two-thirds. His son, David, had a charter of confirmation from Jac. II., 24 Feb., 1439; (b) Margaret, wife of Sir Walter Ogilvy, treasurer to King James. Among the missing charters of Robt. III. is a confirmation of a grant by Sir John de

[35] Wood's "Peerage of Scot." Wood gives the date as between 1373 and 1428, the latter being the year of Sir John de Glen's death.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Writs of Far. of Bal.; Remarks on Ragmans Roll.

Glen to Walter Ogilvy, in marriage, of Ballhawell, Forfarshire; (c) Christian, wife of David Stewart; living 1464.[38]

Robert de Glen, son of John and Margaret Bruce, entered the Church, becoming Rector of Liberton in Lanarkshire, the living being in gift of John, Lord of Maxwell, as appears by a charter of the latter, and Christian his wife, 12 Oct., 1357, to the monastery of Kilwynnyn, of patronage or advowson of the said church, with one acre of land, reserving the rights of Sir Robert de Glen, the Rector then instituted.[39] Confirmed by David II. This Robert de Glen de Liberton, witnessed a charter of David II. to Walter Byset, 30 Sept., 38 David II.,[40] and there was a payment to him of 53s. 4d. by order of the King, 1364.[41]

William de Glen died before 14 June, 1373, at which time Paul de Glen, his son and heir, was of age.

Paul Glenn (*sic*) son and heir of William de Glen, 14 June, 1373, granted Sir Archibald Campbell of Lochow the lands of Stronwhillan and Finniart in the barony of Kilmun, to be held of Paul Glenn and his heirs for service in time of war to the Superior, with three suits yearly at the Court of Kilmun.[42]

John de Glen, succeeding Paul, entered the service of Robert Stewart of Lorn, by whom he was much trusted. Safe conduct was granted John de Glen and William de Balnawys *de Scotia s'vientes de Robti Stewart de Lorn de Scotia*, at Westminster, 16 July, 7 Hen. VI. (1429), and also this John had safe conduct on several other occasions 9 to 10 Hen. VI.; Lorn being then a hostage in England.[43]

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[38] Wood's Peerage of Scot.

[39] Reg. Mag. Sig. i., No. 86, p. 34; Orig. Paroc. Scot., i., 36; Robertson, 75.

[40] Reg. Mag. Sig. i., No. 174, p. 57.

[41] Rot. Scacc. Reg. Scot., ii., 168.

[42] Hist. Mss. Com., Rep. 4, Appendix, 476. The name is given in the transcript as *Glenn*, and in an early survey of lands belonging to the Monastery of Paisley, the same spelling occurs; also in Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, 1506.

[43] Rot. Scot., ii., 267^{b}, 268^{a}, 271^{b}, 273,^{b} 275^{b}.

Thomas Glen, perhaps brother to John, was a prisoner of war in England, 6 April, 10 Hen. V.[44]

William Glen, son of John, appears to have held Gaytflat, as well as Bar, and adjacent lands. Under the designation of *Wilelmo Glen, armigeris* he is named as a witness to the donation of one third of the fishings in the Crocket —Shot, and lands, by Robert, Lord Lyle, to the Monastery of Paisley, dated at Paisley, 25 Sept., 1452.[45] This William was in the service of the Abbot, and, doubtless, rebuilt Bar. The lower walls of the castle are older than the upper works; the original sallyport, now walled up, as well as the vaults, are Norman, and it was, in all probability, the home of Lord Richard, before 1292. William Glen of Bar had issue, so far as known, Robert, John, William, and James. John Glen witnessed a confirmation of lands in Rengrew to William Cunningham, 4 Nov., 1483, a charter to the same person, 6 April, 1484, a grant *in re* William Cunnynghame of Cragenis, 23 May, 1499, and other charters relating to Auchinlech; one of William Cunningham and Margaret Auchinlech his spouse, 12 March, 1505.[46] William Glen, son of William, was one of the witnesses to a charter to Walter Lichtown of Houshawin (Howsane), 24 May, 1481.[47] He was also an arbitrator as to boundaries between Robert, Abbot of Paisley, Robert Symple of Fowlwod, and Richard Brown of Cultermayne, lord of Calderhawch in Lochquhywzok, 26 April, 1509.[48] The award was acknowledged before James Glen, brother to William, and *clericus de notarius imperiale et regali auctorifatibus.*

Robert Glen, heir of William of Bar, was a companion in arms, of Sir Unfridi Cunynghame of Glengarnock, and with him at Perth, 1494, where he witnessed a

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[44] Ibid., ii., 232[a].
[45] Reg. de Passelet, 250; reg. folio 25.
[46] Reg. Mag. Sig. (2d Ser.), i., 330, 390, 66, *note*, to 288, 627.
[47] Ibid., i., 309.
[48] Reg. de Passelet, 430–1.

charter by Cunynghame dated at Perth, 24 April, 1494; confirmed 2 May, 1500–1, 13 Jac. IV.[49] In 1500, Robert Glen, with Elizabeth, relict of John Browne (*sic*) of Cultermayne, compounded for wardship and marriage of the heir to the estates of the said John Browne, then in the Kings hand.[50] These lands afterwards passed to the Glens.[51] Robert Glen died 1506, and was succeeded by James.[52] The other children of Robert, so far as I can discover, were: Alexander, Robert, George, (Patrick?), and probably Marion, wife of Robert Shaw of Belgerry.[53]

James Glen, the heir, had a grant of confirmation from Robert, Lord Abbot of Paisley, of the lands of Bar, Brigend, and Lyntchils (Lynthills) in the lordship of Glen, and Regality of Paisley, 1506,[54] and in the same year made a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. James de Compostella. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer contain this entry under 1506. "17 June, to James Glen quhen he passit [through Edinburgh] [on] his pilgrimage to Sanct James, xiiij s;"[55] it being then customary to present persons of note passing through certain towns a gratuity in lieu of entertainment. James and his kinsmen were at Flodden. In 1517 he was captain of a company of 102 footmen in the service of the Crown, and after entries in the Treasurer's accounts of pay for a term of service, viz., £30 to Captain Glen, and proportionate amounts to his Ensign, and men, follows a disbursement for "Supper for Capt. Glenny's (Glenn's) futband inlikewis that nycht to thair supper, (*sic*) thair wages beand spendit."[56] This James Glen "in Bar" was

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[49] Reg. Mag. Sig. (2d ser.), i., 545; No. 2569.
[50] Accts. of the Lord High Treas. of Scot., ii., 14.
[51] Inq. Spec. &c. (Inqs. P. M.), 23 Jan., 1610, Alexander Glen.
[52] Crawfurd's Renfrewshire, 74; Nesbit, i., 351.
[53] Acta Dom. Conc. & Acta Dom. Aud., 1466–1495.
[54] Crawfurds "Renfrewshire," 74.
[55] Accts. of the Lord High Treas. of Scot., iii., 199.
[56] Ibid., v., 155.

on the assize as a Justice, 12 Feb., 1543,[57] and died 1544 (having been killed, supposedly, at the battle of Ancrum); when his son and heir, James, had a grant of confirmation from John, Abbot, of Paisley, with the consent of the convent, of his lands of Bar, Brigend, and others which his ancestors had held.[58]

In 1564, a feud long existant between the houses of Glen and Semple, became serious, the former by the appointment of Robert, Lord Semple to be Justiciary, and James Glen appealed to the Queen. At a Privy Council, 10 Oct., 1564,[60] the Queen's Letters were produced by James Glen, settling forth that whereas Robert Lord Sempill (*sic*) has obtained the commission of Justiciary upon all the inhabitants of the Barony and Sheriffdom of Renfrew within which jurisdiction "the said James and his barnis dwellis," which should not be, nor should Lord Sempill "haif ony commissioun or jurisdictoun upon the said James, his brethir (John) barnis freiendis, and servandis . . . . because it is noutourlie Knawin that the said Robert Lord Sempell beiris deidlie feid and inimytie aganis the said James, his barnis, brethir, kin, and freindis, and hes usit greit crudilitie and hostilitie upoun tham, ... in ony wyise, and specialie in caus criminall quhair he may dispone upoun thair lyffs." The commission of Lord Semple was suspended as to jurisdiction over James Glen, this action being subsequently confirmed, and James Glen, his children, brother, kin and friends made answerable to the Queen's Majesty, only, and exempt from any other process of law.

The brother of James—mentioned in the above proceedings, is supposed, I believe correctly, to have been that John Glen who settled at Stirling after the battle of Langside. A return of the inhabitants of Stirling,

[57] Reg. Mag. Sig. (2d ser.), ii., 767; under No. 3277.
[58] Crawfurd's "Renfrewshire," 74.
[60] Records of the Privy Council of Scot, *anno* 1564.

1544–1550, does not include the name; but the Kirk register shows that John Glen, son of John, of Cambuckenneth, married Elet, daughter of James Anderson of Sheok, 1589, that Thomas Glen, son of Thomas, and Bessie Abercrumbie of West Grainge, were married the same year, and that William Glen in Cabuskenth then espoused Jonet Sibbald.[61] They were, doubtless, grandsons of John. Stirling Register furnishes an unbroken pedigree to John Glen, who, about 1708, was lessee of Foot o'Green. He had: (a) Rev. John, born 1709; died 1792, father of Elizabeth, wife of Dr. Johnston of Virginia, ancestor to the Glen-Johnstons of Perth; (b) Archibald, born 1710, of who, presently; (c) James, died unm.; (d) Robert, born 1717, a tanner in Glasgow, Dean of his Guild, (e) William, born 1720, died in St. Petersburg, unm.; (f) Alexander, of Glasgow, father of Alexander, a magistrate there and others. The children of Archibald (born 1710), second son of John of Foot of Green, were: (a) John, born 1736, of Lumloch, Lanark, whose sons d. s. p; but a daughter was wife of Mr. Orr, Glasgow, mother of Sir Andrew Orr, Knight, Lord Provost of Glasgow. A brother of Sir Andrew went to St. Petersburg, and members of this Orr family settled in Philadelphia; (b) Robert, of Russia (a younger Robert d. inft.); (c) William, born 1744, of Forganhall, Falkirk, had George Glen of Liverpool and Oxford; (d) Alexander, born 1748, of Glasgow, married Jane Burns, and had, Archibald of West Indies; afterwards of Liverpool, William Glen, the poet, Robert of Trinidad, Alexander and James of Demerara, Thomas of Newfoundland, who left issue (in Canada) and a daughter Jean, died unm.; (e) Margaret, wife of Mr. Liddell, or Lytle, of Glasgow, some of whose family removed to Philadelphia; (f) Isabel, mother of Rt. Rev. David Anderson, Bishop of Prince Ruperts Land, and Thomas D., of Waverley Abbey, Mayor of Liverpool; (g) Catherine, wife of Wil-

[61] Old Stirling Register.

liam Kidston, Glasgow; (h) Mary, wife of Rev. Thomas Burns, Renfrew, whose daughter married General Harry Thomson, of Indian Army;[62] (i) three daughters died young.

James of Bar was kinsman to the Hamiltons, and, 4 Jan., 1565, with Robert Hamilton of Briggis, and James Hamilton, of St. Johns Chapel, executed a bond for the delivery, by John (Hamilton), Archbishop of St. Andrews, of the castle of St. Andrews to the King and Queen, upon six hours notice, under penalty of 5000 marks.[63]

James Glen commanded troop for Queen Mary, at Langside, and was forfeited, 1568; but restored by treaty of Perth, 1573.[64] Over the entrance to Bar Castle the motto "For God and my Queen," rudely carved, is legible. After Langside the Glens seem to have taken refuge with the Hamiltons, and there is evidence to shew that they were active in the plot to assassinate Moray, who was shot (1570) whilst passing through Linlithgow by Hamilton of Bothwell-Haugh.[65]

The children of James Glen of Bar, second of the name, were: James, William, Alexander, Archibald, David, Mary, and perhaps others. James, the eldest, Groom of the Chamber to Darnley, was killed at Kirk a Field. William and Alexander succeeded, in turn to the estates. Archibald is said to be identical with Archibald, Glen, Regent of the University of Glasgow, 1596, minister at Rutherglen, and, 1603, translated to Carmmunock; died 1614. He had sons, David, and Thomas, the latter (died 1635) a merchant in Glasgow, Master of Works there, 1625, father of Thomas, Ballie of the River and Firth of Clyde, 1638, 1639, 1642, 1646.[66] David Glen was of Glenlora, adjoining Bar, 1598–9;[67] of his issue I will

[62] "Literary Remains of William Glen."

[63] Recds. of Privy Council of Scot.

[64] Crawfurds "Renfrewshire."

[65] The account of personal estate of Margaret Cunningham, spouse of William Glen of Bar, 1598, shows transactions between the Glens and David Hamilton of Bothwell-Haugh, tending to confirm other evidence.

[66] "Literary Remains of William Glen." Corp. Recds. of Glasgow.

[67] Test. Dative of Margaret Cunningham, otherwise Glen, 1598.

speak presently. Mary, daughter of James of Bar, was, it is believed, one of the four Marys of the Queen.[68]

William Glen of Bar married Margaret Cunningham, who died May, 1589 (1598?)[69], the final decree regarding whose estate is dated 9 Jan., 1598–9, William being then alive. The account shows the joint debts of Margaret and her husband to exceed their assets by £390, including £20. for tithes and duties of Bar, due "my lord of Paisley and his chalmerlanes," being arrears for 88 years. No payments had, therefore, been made since 1608, although there was a grant of confirmation in 1644. As these arrears were against Bar, only, there would seem to have been a dispute as to their justice. William and Margaret had Isabel, executrix of her mother's will, afterwards wife of Thomas Boyd, Lavid of Pitcon, Ayr, who died 1617. Crawfurd gives also Sibilla, wife of James Semple of Milbank, and cites a charter from Robert, Lord Semple, 1603, of lands in Renfrewshire to James Semple of Milbank and Sibilla Glen his spouse ("a daughter of the house of Barr").[70]

William Glen of Bar died before 23 Jan., 1610, when his brother Alexander was proved heir, in lands of Auchencruche, Calderhauche, Cruik, Jonishill, Langli, Knockernoch, and "an ancient estate in the parish of Lochwinzeoch."[71] Alexander died before 9 April, 1629, when Archibald Glen, his son, succeeded; and, in addition to the lands named, those of Bar, Brigend, Lynthillis, and Wester Kers, are mentioned in the inquisition.[72] Bar Castle passed to the Hamiltons; but Lynthillis descended

[68] Mary Queen of Scots had a number of ladies in waiting called Mary, as she was accustomed to replace those who married, died, or withdrew, by others of the same name.

[69] The date of her decease is given in proceedings as 1589; but the other dates on the same papers indicate that this is a clerical error for 1598.

[70] Crawfurd's "Renfrewshire."

[71] Inqs. P. M. Scot.

[72] Ibid. This was, no doubt, the same Alexander who had been a merchant in Edinburgh, and married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of George Acheson, of Edinburgh, of the family of Acheson, Earls of Gosford, who died 1608.

to William Glen, living 1818, whose descendants held it for a long time, a continuous tenure, without the intervention of an heiress, of nearly 600 years, and a continuous land tenure in the same lordship for nearly 800 years. Captain Alexander Glen, of this house, is recorded as having expended his entire fortune for rations and pay for his men, and to have died of actual starvation, in the regular service of the later Stuarts.[73]

Lindsay Glen, who appears to have taken service with a merchant of Rotterdam, is known to have been a near relation to William Glen of Bar (died before 1610), perhaps a brother, and probably married a kinswoman of Gabriel Spreule, a Dutch trader, with whom the Glens of Bar had financial transactions. Alexander, son of Lindsay Glen, entered the service of the Dutch, was early on the Delaware, and afterwards at New Amsterdam. He founded Schenectady, and accounts of his career will be found in histories of that place. He is, however, erroneously called Alexander *Lindsay* Glen, whereas his baptismal name was Alexander. His father's name being Lindsay, the Dutch called him, after their custom, by the Dutch equivalent of Alexander son of Lindsay, as appears by New York Archives. Alexander was a headstrong, violent man, frequently engaging in disputes with the government. A descendant of Alexander, Dr. Jacob Glen, removed to Chestertown, Maryland, dying about the middle of the 18th century. His will mentions a rosary and crucifix, according to tradition, belonged to Mary Queen of Scots, and which Dr. Glen wished his descendants to retain as an heirloom, forever. The children of Dr. Glen wrote the name *Glenn*. A branch removed to Baltimore, some of them becoming eminent at the Bar, and Elias was Chief Justice of Maryland. Another of the Baltimore family went to Newark, New Jersey, dying there recently, aged over 106.

[73] Rep. of Rec. Com.

A family of Glen holding lands at Incherie, Fife, was probably from an illegitimate son of Sir John de Glen of Balmuto (died 1428). They were not numerous; but one of them, James Glen, a merchant-tailor, rose, to be Provost and Treasurer of Edinburgh. Robert, heir to Master Robert Glen of Inchkerie, was proved heir to his father, 1617.[74]

As stated, according to the best information at hand, the sons of Robert Glen of Bar (died 1506), were: James, Alexander, Robert, and George. Alexander, Robert, and George Glen, were, 4 Augt., 1542, joint tenants of the lands of Neither Glen, in the Lordship of Boghall, near Bar; all three were probably at the battle of Ancrum. Alexander Glen removed to Linlithgow before, or in, 1544–5, and entered the service of the Hamiltons. He was witness to a charter at Linlithgow, 6 Jan., 1545–6. The records of the Commissariot of Edinburgh, Retours of service of heirs, and parish registers, furnish data for a complete genealogy of the Glens of Linlithgow. Three of this line, James, George, and Andrew, represented Linlithgow in Parliament, 1625, 1641, 1652–63. Alexander Glen, of Linlithgow, who died before 22 Augt., 1722, owner of Bonnytoun and Loncroft, had (a) Andrew Glen, who left an only daughter Elizabeth, born 1739; died 1807, wife of George Ramsay, Earl of Dalhousie; (b) James Glen, Royal Governor of South Carolina; born about 1700, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Wilson, of Eastbourne; died without issue before 26 Augt., 1777; (c) Dr. Thomas, married, 18 Sept., 1755, Isabella, widow of James Graham, Chief Justice of South Carolina; (d) John, and others.

Several other members of the Linlithgow family removed to the Carolinas. John Glen, who went out before the Governor, settled, finally, in Orange County, North Carolina, and married Sarah, daughter of Robert Jones, by Ann, daughter of William Duke. This Ann had been

[74] Inqs. P. M. Scot.

the wife of Captain Christmas, and Robert Jones was the son of Edward Jones of Shocco Creek, formerly of King and Queens county Virginia, and Abigail Shugan. John Glen, who is said to have been a clergyman who also practiced medicine, may have been married previously. His sons, whose descendants wrote the name *Glenn*, were: Warham, Thomas, William, Duke, Dr. John, and perhaps Edward. A daughter Ann seems to have married —— Downs. The sons were young men, but probably all of age, 1761, and resident in Orange County, North Carolina. Dr. John Glen was educated abroad; he had Thomas, James, born 1775; removed to Baltimore, Maryland, 1799, John, and William. The descendants of Duke Glen, or Glenn, removed to Atlanta, Georgia. The late Luther Judson Glenn, whose widow was living 1900, was a grandson of Duke, and son of Thomas.

William Glen, a cousin of the Governor, settled in Charleston, South Carolina, his descendants intermarrying with the Drayton and Bulloch families. A grandson of William, Dr. James Glen, practiced medicine in Philadelphia, in the early part of the 19th century. Archibald Glen, of the Linlithgow line, was also early in the Carolinas.

THE IRISH BRANCH.

In 1605–6, Sir James Hamilton and Montgomery, having secured large grants of land in Ulster, prepared to plant a colony of Scotsmen in that country. Among those interested in this undertaking were Rev. Patrick Hamilton of Dunlop, near Bar, husband of Elizabeth Glen, daughter of David of Glenlora, and Thomas Boyd of Pitcon, husband of Isabel Glen, daughter of William of Bar. Rev. Patrick Hamilton secured lands mostly in the parish of Hollywood, Down, which Sir James, his brother, had obtained by a patent, 3 Jac. I., and, with James and John Glen, who from evidence so far secured are considered, I believe rightly, to have been younger

sons of David of Glenlora, and a few others from the neighbourhoods of Dunlop and Bar, removed to Ireland, 1606.[75] These brothers were ancestors to most of this surname in that country.

James Glen had lands from Rev. Patrick Hamilton, in East Hollywood, Down, and, 15 Nov., 15 Jac. I., a grant was made to him and other "Scotsmen," that they enjoy the "privileges of English subjects."[76] Robert Glen (died 1767), Sheriff, and Mayor of Waterford,[77] was probably a descendant; also David Glen (or Glenn), who removed to North Carolina about 1770, and some of those who were earlier in Pennsylvania, of whom, probably, James, the progenitor of a family at Tacony, and Frankford. John Glen removed from Down to Lifford, Donegal, acquiring denization, 17 Augt., 14 Jac. I.[78] His children, born 1606–1620: John Glen (perhaps eldest son), merchant at Londonderry, died 1686. Admon. to John Glenn (*sic*) eldest son, 28 Dec., 1686, to use of widow (unnamed), himself, and other children of deceased,[79] who were: Ninian, and probably George, James, and David.

John, son of John Glen (or Glenn), of Londonderry, died s.p., 1700, and will, 1700 (admon. C. T. A. granted Jane his widow, 22 June, 1700),[80] mentions children of brother Ninian Glen, named in a suit *in re* this will, John, James, Joseph, and Mathew, all of age, 1700.

James Glen, son of Ninian seems to be identical with James of Boytown, Tyrone, whose will of 13 Sept., 1740, was proved 23 May, 1747.[81] This James married, secondly, widow of one Caldwell, mother of David Caldwell, executor of his stepfather's will; but who, 1747, was in

[75] Hamilton MSS.

[76] "Cal. Patent Rolls, James I." 339.

[77] "History of Waterford."

[78] "Cal. Patent Rolls, James I.," 337.

[79] Derry Diocese Wills, Dublin, 1677–1745, 44; P. R. O.

[80] Prerogative Will, 1700, Dublin; P. R. O.

[81] Derry Diocese Will, 1747, Dublin; P. R. O.

Pennsylvania. John and William Glen (or Glenn), half brothers to David Caldwell, also removed to Pennsylvania. William is believed to be the William Glenn(*sic*) buried at Presbyterian Church near Media, Philadelphia; born 1730. John was born 1727–8, and removed from Pennsylvania to Virginia.

George Glen, supposedly brother to Ninian, died at Cloney, Aghlow(Aghloo), Antrim, 1701–2; his grandchildren then adults. Will 3 March, 1701–2; proved 13 March.[82] Issue: Benjamin, John, ——(daughter), wife of Robert Paton;——(daughter), wife of —— Christy; Hannah, wife of —— Mur(Muir); Abigail, wife of —— Glendinning;—— (daughter), wife of Duncan McClockey; Margaret. Their mother was Jean Merton.

John Glen, first of Lifford, left other sons. Thomas Glenn(*sic*) of Tircullen, Aghanlow, gentleman (grandson doubtless of the first John of Lifford) and Margaret Calwell of Drummon, Tamlatard, had license to marry, 1683.[83] John Glen of Money Gobbin, Antrim (perhaps brother to Thomas), died 1698[84], leaving James, Thomas, William, John, Robert, Joseph, and Agnes (or Ann). James, the eldest, of age 1698–9, d.s.p. in the West Indies, before 1747, Joseph d.s.p. in Delaware, before 1747, Robert removed to Delaware, 1747, Agnes married Arthur Glen, of Cappah. In the year last mentioned the family was living at Donagheady, Tyrone. The wife of John Glen (died 1698) was Janet (or Jane) McCrea, living 1747.[85]

Archibald Glen, Diocese of Clogher,[86] died intestate, 1685, and was, no doubt, the Archibald who was an officer under Charles I., in the Irish wars, and who, with William Glen, Ensign, received lands in compensation for

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[82] Derry Diocese Will, 1701.
[83] Pub. Rec. Off. Dublin.
[84] Prerogative Grant.
[85] Power of Atty. to Robert Glen, recorded at Wilmington, Del., U.S.A.
[86] Diocese of Clogher Will.

awards for arrears of pay, 1666. Patrick Glen of Donacava (Donaghacavey), Tyrone, probably another son of John of Lifford, died 1682.

A family of Glen (later spelling, Glenn), supposedly descended from the Linlithgow line, appears in Londonderry, about the middle of the 18th century. James, John, and Robert Glenn(*sic*) are named in city records, 1756, and some of the name are buried in Derry Cathedral, of whom William Glenn, of Londonderry, merchant, died 1796, aged 61 years. One of this line, William, died without issue, in Baltimore, Maryland, at the close of the 18th century.

William Glen, of Machreymonoch, Ballywillen, died 1730, leaving issue: Joseph, John, Ana, and Martha. The sons were then married, and had children. Thomas, supposedly brother of William, witnessed the latter's will, 22 Sept., 1730; proved 18.[87] Patrick Glen, of Aughereagh, died 1775.[88] William Glen, of Calhirneman, Galway, gentleman, died 1777.[89] William Glenn(*sic*) A.M., was 1675, Prepend of Kilchrist.[90]

Many of the Ulster Glens removed to America, and almost all of these, as well as most of those who went direct from Scotland, added an additional *n* to their surnames.

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[87] Diocese of Connor Will.
[88] Diocese of Clogher, Admon. Bond.
[89] Pub. Rec. Office, Dublin.
[90] "Irish Parishes."

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR GEORGE THOMAS TO CONRAD WEISER.—(Peter's Collection, Manuscript Department Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

PHILAD^{A} Feb^{RY} 26, 1741/2

HONEST CONRAD

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Although I have a very high opinion of Count Zinzendorf's Integrity & Religious Zeal, & consequently esteem him much, I was not altogether willing that the messenger & his family should be at his House, lest his manner of treating them should not prove agreable & they should think that we failed in Civility to save Expense & so make a Report to our Prejudice, when they return to their Country-men. I should be very well pleased that the Count could make them good Christians, but I would not have the Business of the Province depend upon his success with them, nor run the risque of their being disobliged by being put into the hands of a gentleman who out of good will would restrain them from what they think there is no Crime in making a moderate use of. Drunkenness is a very bad thing & I discourage it in Indians & others, as much as I can; but should they become Christians, if, they are no better than Christians in common, they will be as drunk as some of them are apt to be at present, & be greater Thieves, Adulterers, Cheats &c. than the worst of Indians are. The knowledge of God & Christ ought to make men better, but how it happens I cannot tell, but so it is, that the common sort of People amongst Christians are worse than the Indians, who are left to the Law of Nature, that is to their own natural Reason, to guide them. If these People are anyways dissatisfied, you must excuse me, & put it upon their own Consent or Choice, as you tell me it was.

Yr very sincere Friend
& humble Serv^{t}

GEO. THOMAS.

LETTER OF HON. JOHN PENN, M. C., in the collection of Thomas R. Proctor, Utica, N. Y.—

PHILAD^{A} July 6th, 1777.

DEAR SIR

It is with great concern that I inform you we have not been able to send off the money for our State yet. Doctor Burke and myself have done everything we could to procure it knowing what pressing demands you have, and the necessity there is for using dispatch; there was very little money in the Treasury when I got here and one or the other of us has been almost every day at the Treasury board. I am in hopes we shall be able to dispatch 300,000 Dollars in two or three days, you may depend that nothing on our part will be wanting. The money is chiefly raised in this and the Eastern States by way of the loan offices.

General Howe after having made a variety of maneuvers and finding that General Washington would not give up his strong Post went over to Staten Island, and soon after sailed with his Troops towards New York, it is supposed that he intends by way of the No. River to form a Junction with Burgoyne if possible.

General Washington did not incline to risque a battle on equal terms, nor was Genl. Howe willing to attack our Army on the hills, or to march

far this way and have our troops behind him. It is out of my power to tell you how many soldiers are in either Army ours is said to be increasing. The Brigades sent after the enemy had frequent skirmishes tho' nothing of great consequence was done.

We have nothing new from Europe lately. Mr. Lee one of the Embassadors is gone to Madrid.

I informed you sometime ago how very dear salt was in Maryland and this State owing to a few persons purchasing it up, and that I suspected endeavours would be made by some of them to ingage all that useful article with us, in order that your excellency might if possible put a stop to such a mischievous practice should it be attempted, I mention it again for fear the letter may have miscarried. I am with the greatest respect

Your Excellency's Obt. Servt.
(Signed) JOHN PENN

HON. S. W. PENNYPACKER, PRESIDENT OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—At the celebration by Muhlenberg College at Allentown, Penna., of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the birth of the Reverend Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon the President of this Society, the Honorable Samuel W. Pennypacker. The Dean, Dr. George T. Ettinger, in presenting him to the President of the College, said:

"Too often has Pennsylvania forgotten to sing the praises of her sons, and their lives and their achievements have, in consequence, been forgotten. Well worthy of honor is he that by his tongue and his pen has restored the Keystone State to her lofty place among the Commonwealths of the Nation. A skilled lawyer, a just judge, an honest Governor, an able historian, the President of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, he has valiantly defended the name and the fame of his own native state.

"I now ask you, Mr. President, that in recognition of these services the degree of Doctor of Laws be conferred upon the Honorable Samuel W. Pennypacker, at one time Governor of this State, and now President of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania."

LETTER OF JOHN DICKINSON; original in the Manuscript Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.—

SIR.

I have consider'd the proposal you & Mr. Hockley made to me Yesterday; and I presume the Governor's unwillingness to purchase, proceeds form a Doubt, whether he could readily turn it into Cash, in Case he builds another.

My House when finished, with the ground adjoining it, will cost me about £8000. If the Governor exchanges Lotts or Lands for it, he will have the immediate Use of the House; but what profit the Lotts or Lands will bring me, will be uncertain. Suppose the Rent of the House and Ground £500, or £400 a year. This last sum in five years will amount to £2000. During which Term the Governor will certainly have the Benefit of the Exchange, on his Part. On mine, the Lotts or Lands I take, may not bring me in a shilling for that Time. It is true, I should rely on an Increase in Value; but the Ground belonging to the House may also rise in Value. If it does, the Governor's will have the advantage of it If at the End of five years, he cannot sell the House & Ground for more, I will engage to give him £6000 ready money, which with the Rent of the House will be £8000.

By this means the Lotts & Lands will be sold, and Cash rais'd for Mr. Thomas Penns three Fourths, without giving the Governor any Trouble.

Some Time ago I offer'd £4000 Sterling for the Ground near Peg's Run. You & Mr. Hockley said, you thought it "a very handsome offer."

I would now agree to take that Ground in the Exchange, tho my House & Ground are worth a good Deal more than £4000 Sterling. But if it would be more agreeable to the Proprietors to part with other Land, it will be indifferent to me, where it lies.

I am with great Esteem
Sir
Your very humble servt
JOHN DICKINSON

MR PHYSICK. Fair Hill Sept^{r} 4th 1773.

LETTER OF PETER ANSPACH TO LIEUT. JOHN MARSTON, AT BOSTON.

READING April 24, 1778.

DEAR JACK.

I am just going to York Town in order to settle all our old accounts . . . Gen. Mifflin has given up the Department; not one of our old hands has as yet entered the new Department. Perhaps you may say there may be a reason for it, I must acknowledge there is, for there has not any offers as yet been made to any of the old hands & you may really call us a sett of *Broken Quartermasters & Paymasters*. I really believe if there had been any good booths offered to any of our old hands, they would not have accepted, because we think that all hands of us will be in better employ before long.

I expect to see you at Boston as soon as I get done settling these damned books and accts that I am now about. As General Mifflin is now about settling everything, it will be highly necessary for you to get Colonel Brewer to certify how many months wages are due to you without mentioning the sum, and I dare say shall be able to get Captains pay for every month wages due to you.

You will please to enclose the certificate in a letter directed to me and send it by my trusty friend Jack Reed, who is to deliver this to you. He is a worthy young gentleman; any favours shown to him will be gratefully acknowledged by Sir your

Sincere Friend
PETER ANSPACH.

A LETTER OF THE REVOLUTION.

NEW YORK the 22 of Aug^{t} 1776

Having this Opportunity I have made bold to Write to Let you know that I am Well Bless be god for it hoping this may find you and your family the same, I have Lived in York Evere Since i Left Philadelphia and do make Out Very Well I do now belong to the second Battalion of York forces and have this Six Month and have three Month and a half More to Stay With the Militia we are not Listed but it seems the Committee have made it so that all Young men that Would not take up arms Was to be deem'd as Enemys to their Country and theirfore I thought Proper to Join the Militia, we have a Very Strong fleet Lying in Our harbour, Consistain of about three hundred and fifty Sail, Wch We do Daily nay hourly Expict them Miscreants up, We have had three Battles With two Ship of War that Went up the north River, but have since Came down after having set fire to Some houses and fields of Wheat, and Conditions is deplorable we have not any inhabatants in York the Enemy keeps sending up flags of truce Continialy but the purport I Cannot tell as yet but hope to let You now Soon, I shall Write to you Every Oppurtunity and hope You'l do the same I Expect in about two or three Weeks to Come down if I can obtain a Permit, for I had One a bout a Week a go to go to Middletown a bout Twenty Miles below amboy and their Was Samuel Davies but I did not see him, but he heard of me and did Call but I rid two fast to hear him but have since Seen him, Joseph Franklin staid wiht

me One afternoon and Whent to my Lodgings and Eat supper and Staid that Night with me. Sam I Could not find that night but next Morning had the Pleasure to See him but did not know him. Provision is very dear their is no board to be in York now under five and Twenty Shillings per Week so no More at present but Still am Sir

Your Most humble Sev^{t}.

Wm. McClatchie

P. S. Direct your Letters to the care of John Francis in broad Street near the Royal Exchange.

Values of Paper Currency in the United States, 1785.—The following table gives the values in 1785, of the Paper Currency issued by the various States, prepared for the firm of Reed and Forde, of Philadelphia.

Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland Currency, reduced to the Currencies of other States; also to England and Irish Money

Penna., N. J., Delaware and Maryland.			N. H., Mass., R. I., Conn., Virginia.			New York and N. Carolina.			S. Carolina and Georgia.			English.			Irish.		
£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
...	5	..	...	4	..	...	5	4	...	3	1⅓	...	3	..	...	3	3
...	10	..	...	8	..	...	10	8	...	6	2⅔	...	6	..	...	6	6
...	15	..	...	12	..	...	16	..	...	9	4	...	9	..	...	9	9
1	..	..	...	16	..	1	1	4	...	12	5⅓	...	12	..	...	13	..
2	..	..	1	12	..	2	2	8	1	4	10⅔	1	4	..	1	6	..
3	..	..	2	8	..	3	4	..	1	17	4	1	16	..	1	19	..
4	..	..	3	4	..	4	5	4	2	9	9⅓	2	8	..	2	12	..
5	..	..	4	..	..	5	6	8	3	2	2⅔	3	..	..	3	5	..
6	..	..	4	16	..	6	8	..	3	14	8	3	12	..	3	18	..
7	..	..	5	12	..	7	9	4	4	7	1⅓	4	4	..	4	11	..
8	..	..	6	8	..	8	10	8	4	19	6⅔	4	16	..	5	4	..
9	..	..	7	4	..	9	12	..	5	12	..	5	8	..	5	17	..
10	..	..	8	..	..	10	13	4	6	4	5⅓	6	..	..	6	10	..
20	..	..	16	..	..	21	6	8	12	8	10	12	..	..	13	..	..
30	..	..	24	..	..	32	..	..	18	13	4	18	..	..	19	10	..
40	..	..	32	..	..	42	13	4	24	17	9⅓	24	..	..	26	..	..
50	..	..	40	..	..	53	6	8	31	2	2⅔	30	..	..	32	10	..
60	..	..	48	..	..	64	..	..	37	6	8	36	..	..	39	..	..
70	..	..	56	..	..	74	13	4	43	11	1⅓	42	..	..	45	10	..
80	..	..	64	..	..	85	6	8	49	15	6⅔	48	..	..	52	..	..
90	..	..	72	..	..	96	..	..	56	..	..	54	..	..	58	10	..
100	..	..	80	..	..	106	13	4	62	4	5⅓	60	..	..	65	..	..
200	..	..	160	..	..	213	6	8	124	8	10⅔	120	..	..	130	..	..
300	..	..	240	..	..	320	..	..	186	13	4	180	..	..	195	..	..
400	..	..	320	..	..	426	13	4	248	17	9⅓	240	..	..	260	..	..
500	..	..	400	..	..	533	6	8	311	2	2⅔	300	..	..	325	..	..

Letter of General John Armstrong, 1776.

Wilmington on Cape Fear,
23^{d} April 1776.

Dear Sir,

'Tis with Some difficulty the business & ceremony of this place admit^{n} me the pleasure of telling you that last night I arrived here in usual health, where I was politely receiv'd by General Moore, and many other Gent^{n} of the Army, having on the way passed an afternoon & Evening with a

number of the first Gent[n] of this Colony met in Congress at Halifax, where I had the additional pleasure to see Messr[s] Hooper, Penn., and General Howe. My Surprise is at once great & agreeable in finding so much good Sense & polite manners in these lesser deserts of Arabia, at present not loaded w[th] burning Sand but sufficiently moistened by frequent & heavy Rains affording the curiosity of plunging for a mile together thro' horrendhous Swamps belly-deep of Tar coulered Water and seeing but few of human kind in the journey of a whole day, but no more of this, hitherto the Campaign is Still tolerable and the Spirit of liberty beating high in the breasts of many.

Nevertheless, you will be greatly disappointed when I tell you that even their first Regiment is not now compleat in N. Carolina—the Second far from it, and the four new ones appointed by Congress (as they call their Convention) but a few days ago! this unaccountable conduct has been partly owing to an imprudent mode of recruiting at first & partly to the inattention of the Convention. in short the late success by Coll: Caswell against the insurgents was as to means principally owing to the Militia, and on them again must General Moore depend at least in the first instance shou'd he meet with a Sudden attact which is very probable from General Clinton & the Several Ships of Force now lying at the mouth of this River at little more than twenty miles distance. Brigadier Moore has taken every precaution in his power, he has one hundred & forty Horse (Militia that chose to bring Horses) and near five hundred Regular troops thrown into different Posts. He has a Small Battery in town & one larger below both mounting about fifteen Guns from three to nine pounders, which are all the Cannon on this important River. I have joined Mr. Moore in a letter to the Convention for having Cannon Cast in this province, and left every small advice in my power, and am happy to find that the three Gent[n]. lately appointed to this district are truly & easily able to teach me.

Three thousand Militia are now order'd to Wilmington, some of whom daily expected. General Moore tells me he expects they will Stand fast, be relieved & their numbers augmented if necessary untill the new Regiments are rais'd.

Tomorrow I set out for Charlestown yet near two hundred Miles distant & must March near the Coast where the British Ships lie. Comodore Hopkins has been much wished for here & in Virginia—I cannot add but that I am with great truth

Your very respectfull friend
and humb[l]. Serv[t].

JOHN ARMSTRONG

P.S.If under favour of y[r]. Cover
I send a line to Mrs. Armstrong
please to forward it by a safe hand—The Ships of force here are y[e] Syren 28 Guns. The Mercury 20. The Scorpion 16. The Cruser 10 beside Several Arm'd Sloops Scooners & Tenders two large Ships said to be lately join'd not yet fully known whether they are Ships of War or Transports together with a number of Captures—in all about twenty Seven Sail.

LETTER OF GEN'L. WILLIAM THOMPSON; in Manuscript Division, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

NEW YORK Mar. 31[st] 1776.

MY DEAR SIR.

Yesterday about 1 °Clock P.M. General Heath arrived here with five Regiments (of near five hundred Men each) so that the strength of this place is about eight thousand which in my opinion, is full enough to defend the City should General Howe think proper to pay us a Visit—Four Regiments more are expected in a few days with the greater part of the Generals & staff of the grand Army

I have ever been of opinion that one part of the Continental Army, having more pay than the other would create discontent when they came to do duty together, I am confident it will be the case now, & how to remedy it I know not, as certainly the pay of the middle-department is quite enough, & the contract made with the New England Troops cannot be broken during the time of their present inlistment.

I cannot help thinking that Gen[l]. Howe intends either for Canada or the Southward and I suppose the Route he takes will in a great measure determine our manouvres.—Should he go to Canada part of the New-England Troops will undoubtedly be ordered there—but if to Virginia or Carolina I believe it would be better to raise men there, than be at the expense of marching so great a distance. The number of troops fix'd for the middle-Department, with the assistance of the Militia I think are quite sufficient to defend the district, unless chief part of the Ministerial Army should be ordered against the middle Colonies. A very short time will point out where the principal part of the Army must be employ'd this Campaign, & I would only recommend, that as much as possible the troops raised on the same footing may be ordered to do duty with each other. As the time the Rifle Regiment was enlisted for, will shortly expire, would recommend that Instructions should be sent to the Colonel, to recruit as many of the old hands, during the War as he could get to engage, & to complete the Regiment by sending an officer from each Company on the recruiting service. If orders of this sortt are sent soon, most of the men I believe will enlist. A number of the Militia have been employ'd in carrying on the works for this place, but as I apprehend there is now Continental Troops enough both to guard and finish the Works, and as the expence will be very high after the greatest care is taken, would advise, that they be immediately discharged and not called on again untill it become absolutely necessary.

As the staff officers for the middle-department arc I suppose, appointed, I don't see the necessity of bringing all the great men from the East to fill the posts of honor and Profit within this district.—however a few days will determine what part should be taken & how far 'tis necessary to keep more than the number first ascertain'd for the defence of this place. I only hint this from seeing that not only thc men, but large Quantities of Provisions are coming here from a neighbouring Colony. Why should not a little cash circulate among us, or is the whole to be sent elsewhere? Col. Trumbull the Commissary General, has been some days here. Col. Brewer the Barrack-Master-General is also arrived. Col. Mifflin is expected tomorrow & General Washington with his family will sett off as soon as the fleet sail.—the whole I expect here by the end of the week. This letter I beg you'd look upon as confidential but make what use of the contents you please.

I am with my best Complim[ts] to Mrs. Wilson and all Friends

Your very affce[t]. HumServ[t].

Wm. Thompson.

General Potter's Brigade of Pennsylvania Militia, 1777.—Rec'd Nov 7[th] 1777 of Charles Humphreys 14 large bags of flour, two Casks of Ship stuff, two sacks of bran and 3 bags of bran being made out of wheat delivered to him for the use of General Potters Brigade

Andrew Long
W. M.

Novemb. the 16 1777 Rec'd of Charles Humphreys 6 large bags of flour 1 of Shorts 2 of bran, made from wheat Delivered to him for the use of Generall Potters Brigade.

James Scott
A. C.

London Jan. 26, 1771

Phineas Bond

Bought of Thomas Wagstaff a fine Gold Watch cap[d] & jeweled silver wheels—name Thomas Wagstaff London No. 6667 with gold seal set with Carnelion and cut with Cypher and fine steel chain.

£27.0.0.

Guineas 25–13 Shillings,
equal to
one hundred and thirty five dolls.

Received the Contents in full
for Thomas Wagstaff
G. Cooper.

Extracts from the Account Book, of John Saltar, Lumber Merchant of Philadelphia, 1776.—

1776, Jany 8.—Committee of Safety:
Warren Galley, boards and scantling,..... –.8.7.
Jany 14. Lath'g for the Washington, Capt. Dougherty,..... –.3.2.
Feby, 24. W[m] Rush for the Washington,..... –1.2.
March, 2. W[m] Rush for y[e] Campden,..... –.–.9
March 13. 2000 Shingles pr order Capt Cowperthwait for Powder Mill..... 9.5.–
March 29, 3225 ft Cedar boards for y[e] Powder Mill..... 14.–.–
April 10.—Commission for Naval Affairs, viz. Robt. Morris, J. Nixon & J. M. Nesbitt, 3568 Ced. Boards.....16.19.–
April 13.—Phil. Moore & Jos. Craig for their privateer, plank... 1.1.7
May 10.—Committee of Safety for y[e] Fire Rafts, Ced boards... 1.10.3

William Penn's grant to William Frampton, of a wharf property on the Delaware front of Philadelphia.

William Penn, by ye Providence of God & ye King's Authority, Proprietary & Governor of ye Province of Pensilvania & ye territories thereunto belonging: To all to whom these presents shall come, sendeth Greeting. Whereas William Frampton hath requested me to grant him a piece of land upon & before ye bank of Delaware River joining upon ye Front street and to run out into the river in order to erect a wharf or Key. & to build houses thereon for ye better Improvement of ye place as well as for his own particular profit.

Know ye that out of ye speciall regard, I have to ye said William Frampton for ye good affection, he hath for the Interest & Prosperity of this Province & ye great pains and charge, he hath been & is like to be at, for ye improvement of ye same I have given, granted, and confirmed & by these presents for me my heirs & successors doe give grant & confirm unto ye said William Frampton, his heirs and assigns, a Peece or parcel of land, in breadth Forty-two foot fronting his own lot, beginning about twenty foot from ye edge of ye Banks, upon ye bounds of ye front Street, sixty foot distant from ye bounds of his own and from thence extending in length out into ye river, two hundred & Fifty foot. & no further to *have, hold & Enjoy* ye same to ye only use & behoof of ye said William Frampton, his heirs and assigns for ye space of forty one Years, yielding & paying therefore four shillings yearly. Current money of this province & at ye expiration of ye said term of Forty one Years, ye yearly value of ye said Land with its buildings & all its improvements shall be reasonably valued and appraised & by two men mutually chosen, one third part of which valuation & appraisment ye said William Frampton his heirs and assigns shall for ever after pay to me, my heirs. & successors at or upon ye first day of ye first month in every year to such person or persons as shall be from time to time appointed for that purpose *to be holden* for ever for me, my heirs & successors, Proprietaries of ye province of Pensilvania and ye territories, thereunto belonging as of our Manor of Springetts Berry. in ye

County aforesaid in free & common soccage. by ffealty onely in Lieu of all services. I do also give and grant of ye Keys or wharfs. already built or to be built upon ye said land to be lawful keys or wharfs. for ever for landings & shipping all Goods & merchandizes, giving and granting to ye said W^m^ Frampton, his heirs and assigns, full authority and power to contract and agree with and to receive reasonable satisfaction from all persons making use of ye same by shipping or landing of goods. and merchandizes and by ships, boats & vessels, coming to Lying by & making use of ye same, Provided always that ye said William Frampton, his heirs & assigns, doo & shall in convenient time leave & make a sufficient cartway under and along, by ye front of ye said bank thirty foot wide for ye common use of all persons in ye day time, and also to make and erect conveinent stairs or other access from ye water to ye said wharf & from ye said wharf to ye street by ye name of lower wharf. & to keep them in repair to be for ye common use of all persons for ever Provided also that ye said William Frampton his heirs & assigns do not erect or raise any buildings above four foot above ye top of ye said bank unless hereafter. any person shall have liberty or priviledge to build higher & then & in such case ye said William Frampton, his heirs and assigns Shall have equal priviledges with any other person or persons hereafter building in and upon ye said bank and if it should happen that part or all of ye said buildings shall be destroyed by inundation fire or other act of Providence after ye said valuation and appraisement then and in such case I do grant that ye said William Frampton his heirs and assigns shall be proportionately considered. In Witness whereof I have caused these my litters to be made patents. Witness, myself at Philadelphia this fifth day of ye sixth month, one thousand six hundred and Eighty-fourth; being ye thirty sixth year of ye kings reign and ye fourth of my government

(*Signed*) Wm Penn

Seal

Letter of Major Isaac Craig to Gen. William Irvine, 1783.—

Dr General,

Notwithstanding General Carletons assurance of the Savages being Restrained and the Indian Partisans Called in, we have almost every day accounts of Famileys being murdered or carreyed off the Frontier Inhabitants of Washington & Ohio Counties are moving into the Interior Settlements, the Inhabitants of Westmoreland it is said will follow their Example and we have Reason to believe that the Post of Wheeling is or will Shortly be Evacuated it appears there are several Partys of the Enemy or Detachments of Some Large Party as they are Ravaging the County in Several Places at the same time Col Byards Letter will further Inform You Applications and Petitions for Ammunition from Assistance have come in from all Quarters

Prospects of Peac on this side of the Mountains seems to Vanish, the British Either have very little influence over their Savage Allies, or they are acting a most deceitfull Part. I hope however that the Assurance we have of the Pacefick Desposition of England will give Congress an Oppertunity of Sending a Sufficient Force to Exterpiate or at least Properly Chastise these murdering Rascals.

Should an Expedition be Determined on, in which Artillery is to be Employed I hope it will be remembered that there is not a three Pd^r^ fit to be Carreyed into the Field at this Place and that at least two of that Caleba will be wanted according to my Opinion. I hope I shall have the Pleasure of Battering the Wyandot Block Houses in the Course of the Ensuing Summer and Perhaps of taking Possession of Detroit

I am D^r^ General
Your Ob^t^ & Heb^l^ Serv^t^.
Isaac Craig

Fort Pitt 5^th^ April 1783—
Gen W^m^ Irvine Carlisle

American and British Loses at the Battle of Monmouth.—The following memorandum was found among the papers of Jacob Weiss, A.D.Q.M., recently acquired by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

At the battle of Monmouth June 28, 1778.

Our side, Killed,.....	69	
Wounded,.....144		
Missing, ...127		
	340 of Americans.	
On the enemies side, buried next day,	247	
wounded....988		
		1235
Taken & deserted since they left Philadelphia,	1230	
took off the field by the enemy....	100	1330
total		2565 of the enemy.

Weight of Revolutionary Officers.—Weighed on the scales at West Point, Aug. 19, 1783; found among the papers of General Cobb, of Gouldsborough, at the house of the late Col. John Black, at Ellsworth.

Gen. Washington.....	209 pounds	Col. M. Jackson.....	252 pounds
Gen. Benjamin Lincoln.	224 "	Col. Henry Jackson....	230 "
Gen. Henry Knox.....	280 "	Lt Col. Huntington....	232 "
Gen. Huntington.....	132 "	Lt Col. David Cobb...	186 "
Gen. Greaton.....	166 "	Lt Col. Humphries....	221 "
Col. Swift.....	219 "		

—*Bangor Historical Magazine.*

A Valley Forge Document, found among the Weiss Papers, in Manuscript Division, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

List of Quarter Master stores Received of Thomas Craig Esq. A. D. Q. M. at Valley Forge in May 1778.

1876 Shovels without handles,
1588 do with do,
473 Spades without handles,
243 do with do,
121 Pickaxes,
1835 Tomahawks,
229 Hatchets,
5 boxes cont'g 40 Axes ea.,
400 Axes without handles,
200 old Axes for repair,
328 Axes with handles,
64 Broad Axes,
1 Cask No. 4 cont'g.
403 Frows,
50 ———
44 Maul rings,
250 Iron wedges,
15 Bars Iron,
18 pieces of Steel,
612 Wagon Clouts,
51 bundles Nail rods,
3207 pr Horse Shoes,
27 pr Chain Traces,
293 Camp Kettles,
437 Canteens,
60 Claw Hammers,
23 Hasps,
50 Staples,
75 Door Locks,
25 pr Compasses,
10 Iron Squares,
2 Rules,
2 Wood Squares,
3 Guages,
28 Chizels,
1 Gouge,
44 Planes,
3 Carpenter's Adzes
2 Cooper's Adzes,
23 Augars,
62 Spike Gimblets,
120 Small Gimblets,
25 Small Bolts,
12 Cross cut Saws,
13 Pitt Saws,
37 Hand Saws,
32 Gross, 10 doz Wood Screws.,
1 small Iron Box,

52 Water Buckets,
44 Iron Pots & Stew Pans,
1 Screw Driver,
3 Sythes,
1 Cutting Knife,
19 doz. Crosscut Saw files,
6 " & 10 Pitt do.
21 " & 5 Hand saw do.
11 " & 6 Tenon Saw do.
1 Half round do.
2 Branding Irons,
2 Mess Bowls
435 Common Tents,
14 pieces do
4 Horsemen's do
1 do do to repair,
1 shell of a Marquee,
68 reams Writing Paper,
37 Military Books,
2 Orderly do
127 sticks Sealing Wax,
14 Paters Ink Powder
1 Coil Rope 44 fathom
1 do 26 do.
1 do 59 do.
1 do 21½ do.
34 Skeins Twine,
144 Collars,
205 pr. New Hames,
52 Breech Bands,
42 Belly Bands,
12 Cart Saddles,
1 old do.
300 Knapsacks,
370 Clout Nails,
2 South Buttresses,
1 Sledge,
89 sides sole Leather,
3 Calf skins,
2 sets Geers,
233 lbs Nails, in cask,
2 Iron Stands,
5 new Regimental Coats,
24 new & old Country made Coats,
15 do. do waistcoats,
3 Petticoats,
2 pr Worsted Breeches,
28 pr Leather do new & old,
55 pr. Mens Wor. Hose (new),
84 pr do do (old),
4 Shirts,
2 pr Trowsers,
2 pr Shoes,
13¾ yds homemade Cloth,
288 yds Tow & Hemp Linnen,
44 Breech Bands,
4 pr Iron Traces,
4 Blind Bridles,
2 Cart Saddles,
7 Singletrees,
12 Doubletrees, } old Geers,
100 Water Buckets,
3 Shingling Hatchetts.

A True Copy taken from
the Valley Forge Books.

ADDITIONS TO FORD'S "BRITISH OFFICERS SERVING IN AMERICA, 1774–1783."

Barnes, John, Brigade of Guards.
Boscawen, George Evelyn, Captain, (1780).
Collins, Thomas, Captain, Major of Brigade, (1779).
Clerke, Alured, Brig. General.
Colquohoun, James, Adjutant, 2d Battalion, Foot-Guards (Sept. 1780).
Fage, Edward, Captain, Royal Artillery, (Sept. 1780).
Goodricke, Capt. (Sept. 1780).
Gordon, Cosmo, Lieut. Col. 3d Reg't., Foot-Guards. (Sept. 1780).
Gould, Sir Charles, Judge Advocate General.
Horneck, Charles, Captain, 3d Guards, (Sept. 1780).
Howard, John, Lt. Col. Commanding Brigade of Guards, (Sept. 1780).
Hume, Walter, Major, 42d Reg't.
Keppel, William, Major, 82d Reg't.
Leland, John, Brig. Gen. 1st Reg't of Guards, (Sept. 1780).
Lovelace, Robert, Lieut. Col. Coldstream Foot Guards, (Sept. 1780).
Maitland, Augustus, Captain, 1st Regiment, Foot-Guards (Sept. 1780).
Matthews, Maj. Gen.
Maynard, William, Captain, Coldstream Guards, (Sept. 1870).
Marsh, James, Brig. Gen.
Murray, James, Capt.—Queen's Rangers.
Norton, Chapel, Lieut. Col. Coldstream Guards, (Sept. 1780).

O'Hara, Augustus, Lieut. Royal Artillery, (Sept. 1780).
Schutz, Lieut. Col.
Spencer, George, Lieut. Queen's Rangers.
Stewart, Hon. James, Lieut. Col. 1st Reg't. Foot-Guards, (Sept. 1780).
Swanton, Thomas, Captain 3d Guards (Sept. 1780).
Thomas, Fredcrick, Licut. Col. 1st Reg't. Foot-Guards, (Sept. 1780).
Wilson, Robert, Adjutant 1st Battalion Foot-Guards, (Sept. 1780).

WILLIAM NELSON.

DEPOSITION OF J. P. DEHAAS, J. P., of Lancaster County, Penna., regarding the apprehending of three men for arson, submitted to Gov. John Penn. Original in Manuscript Division, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Philadelphia to wit:

On the twenty sixth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy Before me Thomas Willing Esquire one of his Majesty's Judges of the Supreme Court of the Province of Pennsylvania personally appeared John Philip Dehaas of the Township of Lebanon in Lancaster County Esquire one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace of the County of Lancaster who being duly sworn on the holy Evangels of Almighty God declareth and saith that he the said Deponent on the fifteenth day of September Instant delivered to Frederick Buhlman Constable of Lebanon aforesaid a Warrant from John Lawrence Esquire one of his Majesty's Judges of the Supreme Court of this Province directed to all the Civil Officers of the Province for apprehending Lazarus Stewart Lazarus Young and Zebulon Butler and bringing them before him or one other of the Judges of the said Supreme Court to answer a certain Charge made on Oath against them of burning Houses and other Misdemeanours said to be committed in the County of Northampton in the Province aforesaid and the said Constable thereupon about Ten OClock the same day arrested the said Lazarus Stewart in Lebanon in the Deponents Prcsence that the said Deponent understanding that the said Stewart was a dangerous turbulent man and apprehending a Rescue might be attempted employed three Men to assist the Constable to convey him down the Country promising them a Reward of five Pounds to each of them if they accomplished it; that the said Stewart being encouraged by Messages from one William Stoy as this Deponent hath been informed and verily believes endeavoured to retard as much as he could their setting off and at length found means to intimidate the Persons employ'd to assist the Constable so that they went away leaving the Constable to do as he could; that the Deponent being informed of this endeavoured to procure other Assistance but while so employed Word was brought him that the said Stewart had rcscued himself with the Assistance of one Matthias Mause a Nephew of the said Stoy who gave the said Stewart the Handle of an Ax with which he had knock'd down the Constable and beat him in a cruel and unmerciful Manner that thereupon this Deponent went to the Place where the said Stewart was and called to sundry of the Inhabitants who were there standing and had been Witnesses to the aforesaid outrageous Proceeding charging them in his Majesty's Name to assist him the Deponent and the said Constable in retaking the said Stewart at the same Time acquainting them with the crimes of which he was charged and for which he was in the Constable's Custody; that nonc of the Inhabitants would obey the Deponent some of them being Friends and Abettors of Stewart and the rest afraid; that the said Stewart step'd forward with a Club in his Hand and abused the Deponent in the most opprobrious Terms and the Deponent despairing of Assistance and understanding that a Number of Stewart's Friends were expected from the Country and apprehending from his Threats that great Mischief and Disturbancc would ensue thought proper to retire exhorting the People in the most earnest Manner to preserve the Peace and prevent any riotous Proceedings; that about an Hour after the

Rescue a Party of arm'd Men to the Number of twenty or thereabouts rode into the Town of Lebanon and joined the said Stewart who soon after came towards the said Deponent then walking before his own Door and with much Scurility and Abuse with a Pistol in one Hand and a Club in the other threatned him for having procured him to be arrested And the Deponent finding it necessary to defend himself retired into his House and got his Pistols; that the said Stewart endeavoured to follow him into the House but one of the Family fast'ning the Door prevented him; that the said Stewart afterwards called on the Deponent to come and take him and said that there was long ago two hundred Pounds Reward offered for him (alluding as this Deponent understood to the said Stewart's being one of the Persons concerned in murdering the Indians in Lancaster Gaol for taking whom a Reward was offered by this Government) that the said Deponent was inform'd by Nicholas Hansaker Innkeeper in Lebanon aforesaid that the said Stewart afterwards came to the said Hansakers and threatned that if he ever should obey the Orders of the Deponent in taking or assisting to take the said Stewart or any of his Company he the said Stewart would cut him to Pieces and make a Breakfast of his Heart And this Deponent saith that the said Stewart and his Company rode off in Triumph and further saith not.

J: P: DE HAAS.

Sworn before me the
day & year above written
THO^{s}. WILLING.

Endorsed: Deposition of JOHN PHILIP DE HAAS, Esq. of Lancaster County.
Septem^{r}. 26th. 1770.
Entered in Minutes of Council of the 27th of September 1770.

WATCH FOR JUDGE JASPER YEATES.—

MIDDLE TEMPLE.
LONDON, Jany 27, 1771.

To JASPER YEATES

D^{r} Sir.

I send by this opportunity the Watch you desired me to purchase, to the care of Mess^{rs} Carson Barclay & Mitchel, to whom I have inclosed a 6/ Bill of Lading signed by Falconer. The Watch is made by Wagstaffe whose character as a Workman & a man of Integrity is much respc'^{d} here. He warrants her for seven years & if you should not like her, he will return your money or give you another one agreeable to you. He will repair her at any Time you think proper to send her over, without making any Charge. Inclos^{d} is his Acct. & receipt. I endorsed your Bill to him this Day, as Mess^{rs} Herford & Powell had Dealings with him—he desir'd I might not receive the Money, But pay his Acct by endorsing the Bill to him.

I shall eonsider myself happy in rendering you any service in my Power while in Engl^{d}—my best Compliments to M^{rs} Yeates to Mr. Shippen & his good family. I am D^{r} Sir

Y^{r} mo'st Hble Serv^{t}
PHINEAS BOND JR.

YORKTOWN, VIRGINIA, HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF THE UNITED STATES.—The one hundred and thirty-first anniversary of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis and his army, October 19, 1781, was celebrated at Yorktown, Virginia, October 19, 1912, under the auspices of the Yorktown Historical Society of the United States. United States soldiers, sailors and marines participated, and the Fourth Band Coast Artillery Corps from Fort Monroe.

After introductory remarks by Henry Reed Hatfield, esquire, president of the society, addresses were made by Dr. E. W. Sikes, professor of his-

tory, Wake Forest College, North Carolina, and by U. S. Senator Claude A. Swanson, (late Governor of) Virginia. In the absence of Rev. George Washington Dame, historian of the Socicty, the invoeation and benediction were made by the Rev. William Reese Scott, chaplain of the Coast Artillery Corps, Fort Monroe. Col. Oswald Tilghman read an account of the famous ride of Colonel Tench Tilghman, Aide-de-camp to General Washington, and exhibited the spurs with which he urged forward his mounts, bringing the news of the surrender from Yorktown to Philadelphia.

The Yorktown Historical Society of the United States was organized to preserve the fortifications and site of the Siege, and to hold annual celebrations there. The board of governors is composed of: President, Henry Reed Hatfield, 1725 Walnut Street, Philadelphia; 1st Vice President, Col. Oswald Tilghman, Easton, Maryland; 2nd Viee President, Henry Morris, M.D., Philadelphia; Historian, Rev. George W. Dame, S. T. D., Baltimore, Md.; General Counsel, Conway H. Shield, Yorktown, Va.; Secretary, Mrs. Carroll Van Ness, "The Montreal," Baltimore, Md.; Asst. Secretary and Treasurer, Mrs. John Adams Bechtel, York Grange, Williamsburg, Va.; Hon. Thomas S. Martin, U. S. Senator, Scottsville, Va.; Hon. Claude A. Swanson, U. S. Senator, Chatham, Va.; Comte de Chambrum, French Legation, Washington, D. C.; Philip Livingston Poe, Baltimore, Md.; Edgar W. Timberlake, Wake Forest, North Carolina; Braxton D. Gibson, Charlestown, West Virginia.

Pennsylvania Gleanings.—Edward Bettris of Oxford, Chirurgion. Will 29 April 1684 proved 12 February 1684(-5). By lease dated the day before this will I have conveyed to Heny Adams of Harwell, county Berks, yeoman, and John Adams, of Kingston Lisley, county Berks, yeoman, a new messuage in St. Peter in the Bayly in City of Oxford to my use and to the use of my wife Ann Dettris and our issue. To my said wife 2000 acres of land in Pennsylvania To my wife the use of my plate until my daughter Anna shall be 21. To daughter Anna 3 gold pieees called Jacobus pecees. Residuary Legatee and Executrix: Wife Anne. Witnesses: Grisill Brookes, Richard Brookes, and Jon Brookes.

Cann 15.

Robert Issabell, late of City of Philadelphia in North Ameriea, Batchelor, deceased. Administration 31 October 1781 to Anne Cock, formerly Issabell (wife of William Cock) Mother and next of kin of deceased.

Admon Act Book 1781 Register Seat.

Queries.

Johnstone Family.—Information is requested regarding Francis Johnstone, merchant, in Clydesdale,—a younger son of James Johnstone, of Westerhall, and his wife Isabel Scott. He was born about 1635, was outlawed for complicity in the Tanglenar Declaration of 1680; is said to have married a Kennedy of Dunure, and was the father of Francis, born 1669, who married Agnes Browne and lived in Ayrshire, where he died before 1712.

F. A. Johnston.

Willington Club, Grosvenor Place, London.

Cochran–Gregory and Woodside.—All information from tradition, Bible, tombstones and other records, is desired of Jacob Cochran, of West Nantmeal township, Chester Co., Penna., who in his will March 20–April 13, 1769, names his wife Mary, sister-in-law Margaret Gregory, and children in the following order: James, Jacob, William, Josiah, Andrew, David, John, and Mary Cochran. David and Mary were minors.

GREGORY: Administration on the estate of William Gregory, of Chester Co., Pa., was granted Margaret Gregory, Aug. 26, 1755. Who were the Gregorys and what their relationship to the above Cochrans?

WOODSIDE. Who were the parents, brothers, sisters and children of Hannah Cochran, wife of John Woodside, and mother of Archibald Woodside, of Philadelphia, born July 3, 1743? When did Hannah arrive in America, and was she then married?

F. COCHRAN,
251 Furman St., Syracuse, N. Y.

BENJAMIN WEST HENRY, ARTIST, OF LANCASTER, PENNA.—Benjamin West Henry, the youngest son of Hon. William Henry, was born in Lancaster, June 8, 1777, and was named after the distinguished artist Benjamin West, who in his early years had been aided and encouraged by the elder Henry in his art studies. Young Henry was educated in private schools and Franklin College, but who gave him instructions in painting is not definitely known. Letters from West contain inquires concerning the progress of his namesake, and inviting him to visit him in London. But very few of Henry's paintings have been discovered, but his portrait of his elder brother, Judge William Henry Jr., of Northampton Co., is owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, as are the portraits of his father and mother, by Benjamin West. In November of 1797, he was made a Mason in Lodge No. 43 of Lancaster; elected Junior Warden December, 1798; Senior Warden, June, 1799, and served until June, 1802, when he was chosen Worshipful Master. On the completion of the new Masonic Hall in 1798, he was authorized to paint a symbolical floor cloth for the furnishing of the Lodge room at an expense of £11.5.10. Mr. Henry was married to Miss Catherine Hofnagle by Rev. Elisha Rigg, rector of St. James P. E. Church, and at his early death, December 26, 1806, was survived by his widow, one son and two daughters. Information is desired of other paintings by this artist.

GEORGE STEINMAN.

Lancaster, Pa.

Replies.

COL. JOSEPH BALL, OF VIRGINIA (Pa. Mag. xxxvi, 218), married for his second wife Mrs. Mary Johnson after February 7, 1707? This is proven by the statement in "Virginia Genealogies," page 57, that on that date Col Ball executed a deed of certain property to his children in which deed he used this language "*at this date I have no wife.*" This is more positive proof than the absence of the wife's signature to the deed? It is fortunate that so much exists to prove that Mary Washington was not born before 1707/8, as so many writers have placed her birth in 1706, when her father was a widower, thus casting a shadow over her birth? Had the author of "Virginia Genealogies" known that such errors would continue after his published proof, he would have published in full the deed of Feb. 7, 1707, which is recorded in the Lancaster Co. Deed books. Mary Washington could not have been born before the latter part of 1707 or the first part of 1708. The discovery of the will of her mother also disposed of the error of "Marian Harlan" who in her book gives Mary Washington a sister *Susan*, who is not referred to in any records of the family and whose name does not occur in Col. Joseph Ball's will or in Mary Hewes' will.

VIRGINIA GENEALOGIES.

Book Notices.

THOMAS FAMILY (1575–1912).—Mr. Richard H. Spencer, of the Maryland Historical Society, has ready for publication eleven generations of the Thomas Family of Talbot County, Maryland. After giving the line of descent from Tristram Thomas, of England, (1575–1640), with notices

of him, his son and also his grandson, the pedigree will more particularly contain the names, dates of births, marriages and deaths of the descendants of his great-grandson William Thomas (1669–1740) of Talbot County, Md. The *appendix* will contain the history, before they came to this country, of different families into which the Thomases have married during the past two hundred years, viz.: DeCourcy, Riddell, Martin, Goldsborough, Leeds, Leigh, Dall, Bringier, Dickinson, Francis, Kerr, Markoe, Trippe, Ridgely, and three other families Lowe, Hemsley and Spencer to whom they were related or closely connected.

The edition will be limited to 80 copies, bound in green cloth, with the coat of arms of this branch of the Thomas Family. Price $3.00 per copy, postpaid.

The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and Other Collections of Philadelphia.—By Helen W. Henderson, Boston. L. C. Page & Co., 1911. 8vo., pp. 383. Illustrated. Price $3.00.

The scope of this volume is limited to the more important of the public collections in Philadelphia, with particular stress upon the historic portraits, in which they are extremely rich. Philadelphia was the first American city to found an academy devoted to the fine arts, a movement which antedated the formation of the National Gallery, of London, by nineteen years. The two earliest exhibitions of pictures in this country were both held in Philadelphia, in the old State House. The first was a collection of paintings by Robert Edge Pine; the second was a general exhibition of paintings, held in the Senate Chamber of Independence Hall, under the auspices of the Columbianum or American Academy of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture etc., established in Philadelphia in 1795. The city claims, also, the distinction of having been the birthplace of art in this country, for here was born in 1720, James Claypoole, the first native American painter of whom we know, and in 1756, William Rush, the first native born sculptor. Still earlier, in 1711, Gustavus Hesselius had come to Philadelphia from London, and to him was given the first public art commission in this country.

Aside from the old portraits in the possession of individuals, there are few institutions in the city not owning one or more interesting portraits. Among these institutions may be mentioned the American Philosophical Society; The Library Company of Philadelphia; Carpenter's Hall; the State House; the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; the Mercantile Library; the University of Pennsylvania; the Musical Fund Society; the College of Physicians; the Pennsylvania Hospital; the United States Mint; the Pennsylvania Museum with the Wilstach Collection. Following the historical sketch of the Academy of Fine Arts and its Early Exhibitions, are chapters on West, and Allston, Matthew Pratt, the Peales, and Gilbert Stuart, and some account of the private collections of Temple, Gibson, Phillips and others. The chapter devoted to the art collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, which is rich in its examples of Hesselius, Lily, Lawrence, Gardner, West, Stuart, Copley, Peale, Elouis, Duché, Pine, Trumbull, Sharpless, Wertmuller, Eichholtz, Inman, Neagle, Wright and others, is of special interest to its members. Miss Henderson is entitled to high commendation for her researches and the artistic setting with which she surrounds them. The volume is profusely illustrated and is an attractive specimen of bookmaking.

The New History, by James Harvey Robinson, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1912, 266 pages.

This interesting little volume is a collection of essays illustrating the modern historical outlook which have appeared before in periodicals. The author has carefully revised them and adjusted them so as to give as much coherence as possible to the collection. As a whole they illustrate each in its particular way, the conception of "the new history."

Leading American Inventors.—By George Iles. New York, 1912, Henry Holt & Co., 8vo., 447 pp. Illustrated.

This volume of "Biographies of Leading Americans" a series, edited by W. P. Trent, contains a group of leading American inventors of the past, and the sketches of them include information never before published. The sketch of Benjamin Chew Tilghman, of Philadelphia, who derived paper from wood, so as to create a new basic industry for mankind, and his other inventions is a careful study. Among others are those of John and R. L. Stevens, Robert Fulton, Eli Whitney, Thomas Blanchard, S. F. B. Morse, Charles Goodyear, John Ericsson, Cyrus H. McCormick, C. L. Sholes, Elias Howe, and Ottmar Mergenthaler.

La Baie d'Hudson: Est-elle une mer libre ou une mer fermée? par Thomas Willing Balch: Brussels, 1911, pages 50.

In this monograph the author takes up the question of the legal status of the great sea in the northern part of America that bears the name of Henry Hudson, its discoverer. Mr. Balch first discusses how large parts of the high seas in ancient times were appropriated by various sovereigns; then how the idea of the freedom of the seas gradually arose; then the contest for the freedom of the salt water until it became a well recognized fact. Next he takes up the extent of the territorial sea, and especially its application to bays, and he finds that according to the Law existing between Nations, Hudson's Bay is an open sea. In support of this view he marshals a quantity of authorities: Treaties between States and the opinions of jurists, publicists and political men, especially that of the Briton, Sir Robert Phillimore. This is probably the first time that the question of the legal status of Hudson's Bay has been specifically treated, and it is of timely interest, for it is understood that the Canadian Government is now busy preparing to claim one day Hudson's Bay as a closed sea.

The Hochstetter Family History.—The descendants of Jacob Hostetler (Hochstetter), who landed in Philadelphia, September 1, 1736, and settled in Lancaster County and later in Berks County, are to be congratulated on the publication of their family history. In September of 1757, the family of the emigrant was attacked by the Indians, part massacred and part made prisoners, who suffered many trials and hardships in captivity, and their final escape is given in the introductory chapter. The genealogical sections give all that has been learned of nearly 9000 families of this now widely scattered family, and the illustrations of homesteads, and members of the family. An appendix contains accounts of immigrants of the same family name, and papers of family interest. The book is copiously indexed. Copies in cloth, $2.50, full morocco $3.50, may be had of Harvey Hostetter, Council Bluffs, Iowa.

The College of Hampden Sidney Calendar of Board Minutes 1776–1876. By Alfred J. Morrison, Richmond, Va., 1912, pp. 186, 8vo. Illustrated.

This is a Calendar covering fifty years of the old College and fifty years of the new College of Hampden Sidney, and in it may be found the facts for a century of the management by Trustees of one of the oldest colleges in the country. Very few of these men are now living, but the College exists; no one can say how much, because they gave it their oversight. Thirty portraits of Trustees are interesting additions to the text.

History of the Jews in America. From the Period of the Discovery of the New World to the Present Time. By Peter Wiernik, New York, 1912; 8vo., pp. 449. Illustrated. Jewish Press Publishing Co., New York. Price $1.50.

The chief aim of this work,—the first of its kind in this complete form—

being to reach the ordinary reader who is interested in Jewish matters in a general way, original investigations and learned disquisitions were avoided, and it was not deemed advisable to overburden the book with too many notes or to provide a bibliographical apparatus. The plan and scope of the work are self-evident; it was inevitable that a disporportionately large part should be devoted to the United States. Interesting periods had to be passed over briefly, despite the wealth of available material, to keep within the bounds of a single volume, and to be able to carry out the plan of including in the narrative a comprehensive view of the near past and the present. The author has divided his work into seven periods: The Spanish and Portuguese; the Dutch and English Colonial; the Revolution and period of Expansion, including the part the Jews took in the war; the German immigration; the Civil War and the formative period after the war; the Russian immigration; the twentieth century; present conditions with the dispersion of the Jews over the country and their great opportunity here. While the social and political success of the Jews in a country are usually taken as an indication of its liberalism and the equality of its citizens, regardless of creed, the contribution of the Jews to its intellectual and artistic achievements is the best proof that this equality brings its own reward for the general good. The biographical sketches of those who attained distinction in commercial circles, as artists and scientists, and the professions, reflect credit as well on the country of their birth as adoption.

The Negro in Pennsylvania: Slavery—Servitude—Freedom, 1639–1861. By Edward Raymond Turner, Ph.D., Professor of History in the University of Michigan. Prize Essays of the American Historical Association, Justin Winsor Prize, 1910. Washington, The American Historical Association, 1912. 12mo, pp. 314.

Beginning with the first appearance of negroes among the Dutch and the Swedes along the Delaware, the author describes the introduction of slavery into Pennsylvania. The legal aspects of slavery there are discussed. Its apparent origin in limited servitude, its divergence therefrom, and the changes which it underwent are fully described, and social and economic conditions are carefully outlined.

The second part of the volume, which deals with free negroes, has afforded the greater opportunity for original contribution. It is shown that the movement upward from slavery was slow and gradual, through the intermediate stage of limited servitude. This gradual rise was continued after the negroes became free; complete legal and political equality not being granted until after the Civil War. It is shown that free negroes made considerable economic progress, and were much helped by zealous Friends and abolitionists, although greatly hampered by increasing race prejudice, and subjected to certain disabilities. There have been no fiercer anti-negro riots than in Philadelphia in the thirties. The volume concludes with chapters on abolitionism and fugitive slaves.

Smuggling in the American Colonies at the Outbreak of the Revolution, with special reference to the West Indies Trade. By William S. McClellan. David A. Wells Prize Essay, Williams College, 1912. 8vo., pp. 105.

This essay of Mr. McClellan justly distinguishes between the general body of restrictive trade laws constituting the old English Colonial System, and the special protective legislation of 1733 passed in the single interest of the sugar planters of the British West Indies, the famous "Molasses Act." The former, the general restrictive laws, the essayist holds, did not operate as serious actual constraint, since England, the legal beneficiary, was the natural monopolist of the colonial trade; the latter, the "Molasses Act," defied the natural channels of commerce.

As a result of these circumstances, the violations of the general system were probably, the essayist writes, relatively slight and unimportant, but the restrictions on imports from the West Indies were systematically and persistently ignored, producing a condition of smuggling so universal and well-nigh respectable as to raise the question whether the operations of the merchants could properly be designated by that term.

When a reforming British minister, at the end of the French and Indian War, tried to induce the colonists to pay a minor share of the expenses of their own defence, though he reduced the molasses duties by half almost as soon as he tried to collect them, his zeal for fiscal efficiency proved both futile and ill-timed. The spirit of protest against administration surveillance had already been quickened, and now commercial irritation at interference with established courses became blended with repugnance to outside taxation of any sort, and ultimately lost in the larger political issue of the complete realization of the spirit, innate in the colonies, of American independence. Such is the very briefest outline of Mr. McClellan's essay.

The Supreme Court and the Constitution. By Charles A. Beard. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1912. 8vo., pp. 127. Price $1.00 net.

Contents: Attacks upon Judicial control; the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and Judicial control; Judicial control before the ratifying conventions; the spirit of the Constitution; the supporters of the new Constitution; John Marshall and the Fathers; Marbury v. Madison.

This little volume is based upon an article which Prof. Beard published in the Political Science Quarterly in March of the present year. The original text has been considerably enlarged by the addition of new illustrative material, and, in its present form, will attract increased interest of every general reader by the political conditions of the present time.

Welsh Founders of Pennsylvania. By Thomas Allen Glenn; 2 vols., Oxford, 1912.

Fifteen years ago Mr. Glenn published, under the title "Merion in the Welsh Tract," an account of the settlement by Welshmen in Merion, Radnor and Haverford, in Pennsylvania. Since then a long residence in Wales has afforded him opportunities of ascertaining the parentage and birthplaces in the Principality of many more of these who, about the close of the seventeenth century, left their native hills to become founders of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. He has also traced the lineage of some of these early colonists, and added much of interest. What has been gathered are presented in the two volumes under notice. Many charts have been prepared, and a glance at these will show how descendants of a number of the Welsh Founders derive their blood from the ancient princely and noble families of Wales, the Plantagenets, and the great ruling families of England. Great care has been exercised in the compilation of the pedigrees, and nothing included which has not first been subjected to a severe critical test. Among the pedigrees of Vol. I: *Cadwalader*, from documents discovered in Wales, throwing much additional light on the origin of the family; *Jones*, (Merion); *Evans* and *Morgan*, (several families); *Davids; Owen; Rees; Lewis; Thomas; Williams; Roberts; Wynne; Edwards; Griffiths; Harry; Tudor; Ellis; Price; Bevan, etc., etc.* The birthplaces in Wales and other short particulars covering some 3000 Welsh settlers, 1682 to about 1700, are given in a separate Roll. Another feature of the volume is the pedigree of *Hugh Roberts*, and parentage of *Dr. Edward Jones*, of Merion; the *Cook* family of New England, formerly of Essex. One of the folding charts gives some 500 of the ancestors of *Hugh Harry*, an early settler in Chester County, and another, those of *John* and *William ap Edward*, of Merion, who arrived in 1682, including royal descents.

Volume II contains selections from the genealogical manuscript of the late Charles Roberts, and pedigrees of the *Roberts; Evans*, (Gwynedd);

Owen, (Merion); *Lloyd,* (Merion), and many other allied families. This volume also supplements Howard M. Jenkin's "Gwynedd," as the pedigrees of most of the early settlers are traced far back, and much new and important information given from records in Wales. An extended pedigree of the *Coates* family of Pennsylvania is of interest.

Samuel Carpenter and his Descendants. Compiled by Edward Carpenter and his son, General Louis Henry Carpenter, U. S. A., Philadelphia, 1912, 4to., pp. 320. Illustrated.

With the laudable desire to perpetuate the memory of his ancestor, Samuel Carpenter, the First Treasurer of the Province of Pennsylvania and a prominent merchant of the city, Gen. Carpenter has collected and arranged his genealogical material. He has also considered it advisable to add the descent in the female line through the Fishbourne, Wharton and Meredith families. The work, which is printed only for private circulation, is an attractive specimen of book-making, and the numerous illustrations of value to antiquarians.

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